

TIME ONLY TO LOOK FORWARD

Speeches of

REAR ADMIRAL
THE EARL MOUNTBATTEN
OF BURMA

K.G., P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.
G.C.V.O., K.C.B., D.S.O.

as VICEROY OF INDIA *and*
GOVERNOR-GENERAL of the
DOMINION OF INDIA 1947-48

Including related addresses



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INTRODUCTION

THE Publishers acknowledge with gratitude their indebtedness to the Government of India for permission to reproduce these speeches and the photographs which accompany them.

The speeches appear in this book in chronological order. In the interests of continuity opportunity has been taken to interpolate the principal addresses to which Lord Mountbatten's speeches are related.

On the formal occasions when it was necessary to provide a copy of what His Excellency was going to say to the press, his speeches were prepared in writing. Whenever possible however, His Excellency preferred to talk extempore, usually without any form of notes, and in this case unless a shorthand writer was available, the speech was not recorded. Where it was necessary to provide the press with a record, one of His Excellency's own shorthand writers used to take down his speech, and this is the version that has been printed, whenever available.

This book has been divided into three parts. Part I contains the speeches made by Lord Mountbatten in his capacity as Viceroy from 24 March 1947 until the transfer of power on 15 August 1947. Part II contains those made in his capacity as the first Constitutional Governor-General of the Dominion of India until his departure on 21 June 1948. Part III Lord Mountbatten's first speech after his return to London. This was made to the members of the East India Association at the Imperial Institute on 29th June, 1948, and is reproduced here by the courtesy of that Association and of *The Asiatic Review*.

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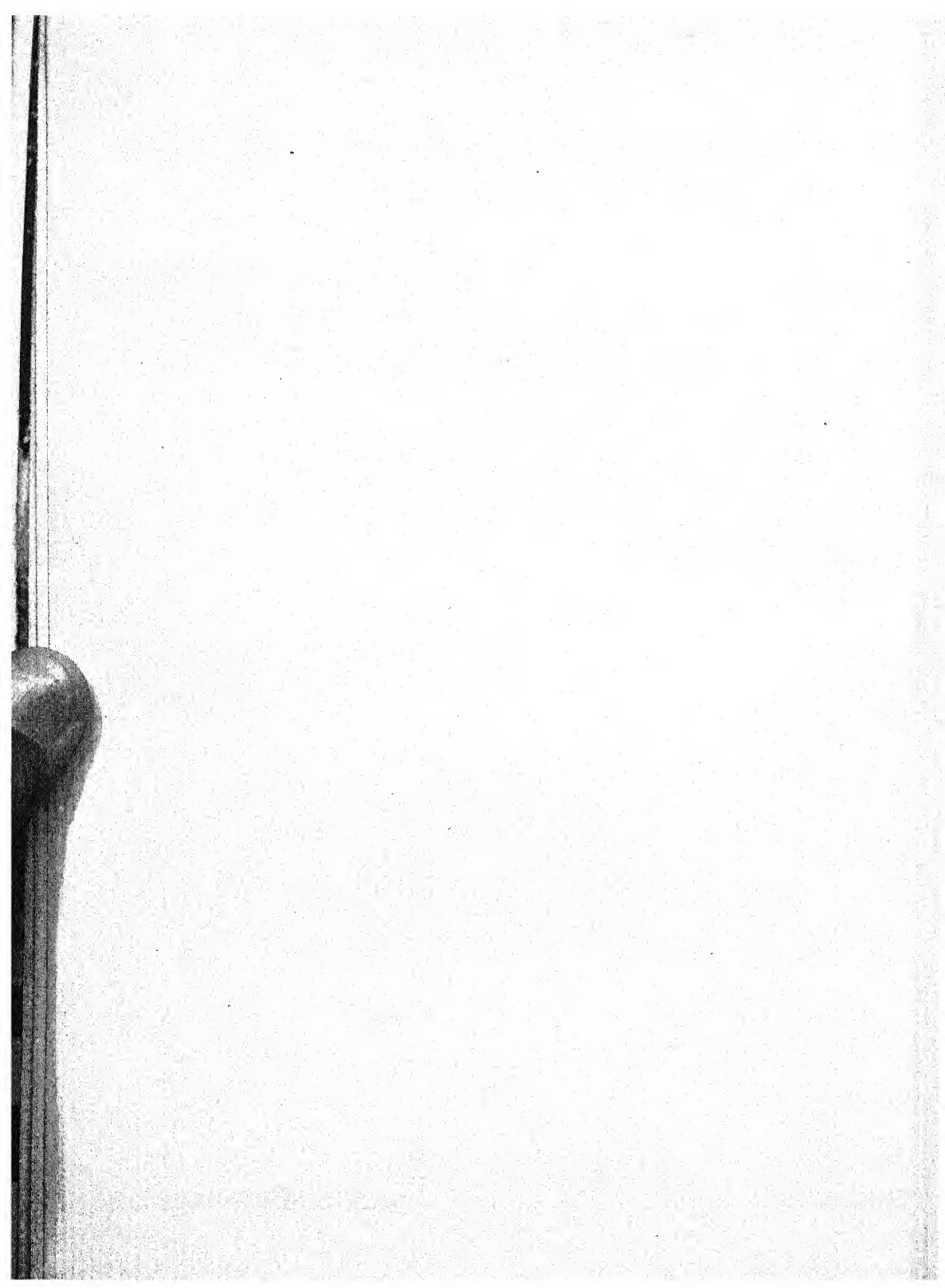
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Part One

SPEECHES AS VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA

(Including related addresses)

24 March 1947

to

14 August 1947

Swearing-in Ceremony

24 MARCH 1947

ALTHOUGH I believe it is not usual for a speech to be made at the swearing-in ceremony, I should like to say a few words to you, and to India.

This is not a normal Viceroyalty on which I am embarking. His Majesty's Government are resolved to transfer power by June 1948; and since new constitutional arrangements must be made, and many complicated questions of administration resolved—all of which will take time to put into effect—this means that a solution must be reached within the next few months.

I believe that every political leader in India feels, as I do, the urgency of the task before us. I hope soon to be in close consultation with them; and I will give them all the help I can.

In the meanwhile, every one of us must do what he can to avoid any word or action which might lead to further bitterness or add to the toll of innocent victims. I know how very many there are who are determined to work to that end, and I shall do everything I can to support them.

I have many Indian friends. Some were made when I was out here twenty-five years ago—it was here in Delhi that my wife and I became engaged. In the three years that I was with the South-East Asia Command I made many more among the Indian fighting forces, with whom I am so proud to have been associated.

It will be no easy matter to succeed Lord Wavell, who had done so much to take India along the path to self-government. I have always had a great admiration for him, and I shall devote myself to finishing the work which he began.

I am under no illusion about the difficulty of my task. I shall need the greatest goodwill of the greatest possible number, and I am asking India to-day for that goodwill.

Reply to Address of Welcome presented by the New Delhi Municipal Council

31 MARCH 1947

ON behalf of my wife and myself, I thank you for your kind words of greeting and for the honour you have done us in giving us this welcome to the capital city, which is to be our home in India.

Twenty-five years ago, I wandered among the foundations of this city, and tried to imagine what it would be like. When I returned here in 1943, it was fascinating to see this city, more splendid by far than I could have foreseen.

I can understand your objection to seeing temporary houses lingering on among beautiful buildings with a high artistic standard; and I share your hope that it will soon be possible to proceed with the planned development of New Delhi.

The future of this great city, which is built on the site of historic Delhi, and where at this moment the representatives of many Asiatic peoples are assembled, is inseparable from the future of India, which from ancient times has been the great cultural centre of Asia.

I have been very interested to hear of the various schemes which the Municipal Committee has in hand, and I congratulate you on the high standards which you have maintained, in spite of all the difficulties of the war and its succeeding years. I hope that perhaps later on you will give me an opportunity of seeing something of your work.

During the last few years my wife has felt very privileged to have had close contact with Indian troops, Prisoners of War, and the Medical, Nursing and Welfare Services of India. She hopes to continue working closely with all medical, nursing and welfare activities; and is particularly pleased to hear

that a Nursing College with a University Degree has been established in New Delhi. This will be a great help to the Nursing Profession of India, which is at present so sadly inadequate to meet the needs of the community.

We thank you again most warmly for the welcome you have extended to us both.

Speech by the Chinese Ambassador His Excellency
Dr. Lo Chia-Luen, on the occasion of the presentation
of his credentials at New Delhi

16 MAY 1947

I HAVE the great honour to present to Your Excellency the letters by which the President of the Republic of China accredits me in the character of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Emperor of India. The change in diplomatic designation between China and India is not only a mark of the stride which India has taken towards independence but also an indication that we are entering upon a new era of still closer co-operation.

For over two thousand years China and India have had frequent periods of contact by land and sea. Such contacts have never once led, I am happy to say, to military conflict, but, always to the search for truth and knowledge. I need not repeat here the heroic stories of how as early as in the first century Indian and Chinese priests, undaunted by the necessary perils and hardships of the overland route, made determined pilgrimages to each other's land to seek religious and intellectual enlightenment. Even in China to-day, when we read of the travels in India of that great scholar-monk Hsuan Chuan and the warm hospitable reception with which he was so generously accorded, we are still filled with a lingering sense of gratitude and emulation.

While recalling the past, I have not lost sight of the significance of more recent events. During the years of our struggle against the Japanese aggression, India extended to us not only its sympathy and moral support but also practical aid and collaboration. We are particularly grateful to India for providing us with the necessary sites and facilities for the training of thousands of our armed forces in India. For many months when China's thin airline over the Hump proved inadequate, India offered unstinted transit passage to many essential war supplies which enabled China to continue her resistance to the victorious end. The Chinese people will long remember these acts of spontaneous friendship. On this occasion, I would also like to recall the visit to India of President and Madame Chiang in 1942, which was followed in its wake by many renewed efforts at Sino-Indian co-operation in the fields of science, education and religion.

I consider it a great distinction to be designated as the first Chinese Ambassador to India. Our people have full faith in the future of India, and are certain that the wisdom of the East will serve to successfully implement the Western art of political organisation. China will labour with India in the common task of the building of a global peace.

Twelve centuries before Christ there flourished in China the State of Chou. In praise of its government and its development of peaceful arts, an old song in the *Book of Odes* runs:

“ Though the State of Chou be ancient,
Its destiny is new.”

May I, with Your Excellency's permission, present these two lines of an almost forgotten song to the people of India as a token of faith and friendship.

In thus entering upon my task I hope that the ties of friendship which unite my country with India may become closer and further strengthened and that I may always count on the kindness and advice of Your Excellency as well as the assistance of your Government.

Reply to His Excellency Dr. Lo Chia-Luen on presentation of his credentials as Chinese Ambassador

16 MAY 1947

It gives me the greatest pleasure to receive you to-day, in your capacity as the first Ambassador to India of the Chinese Republic. From time immemorial, as you have said, China and India have been linked by cultural ties and close associations of friendship and trade. Their relations have never been marred by hostility or strife, an almost unique record in history. More recently the two countries passed through a close comradeship in arms against aggression; together they achieved a common victory. Speaking from personal experience I had the honour in my last appointment of having two Chinese Armies placed under my command by the Generalissimo, and they played an outstanding part in the

liberation of Northern Burma and the opening of the land road from India to China. I also had the pleasure of paying two visits to Chungking and of establishing a most friendly relationship with His Excellency the President of the Republic of China. It is, therefore, a particular pleasure for me to welcome you to-day.

For the future I also do not doubt that these many bonds will be strengthened to the mutual advantage of India and China and these two lands, both ancient in history but both on the road to a new and high destiny will strive with energy, in concert with the other United Nations, to establish a lasting era of progress and peace.

On behalf of His Majesty and the Government of India, I extend to Your Excellency a most cordial welcome, and assure you at all times, of our fullest co-operation.

Burma Star Party

2 JUNE 1947

THIS is a party for all those who won the Burma Star, and at this moment a similar party is being given in London. I have received a message from the Chairman of the Burma Reunion in London, General Slim,¹ and my wife and I have sent messages on behalf of you all to the London party.

I was very proud to have such a fine body of men in my Command in South-East Asia, and I am very glad to have been given this opportunity of continuing my association with so many of you.

This is a fateful moment in the history of our two countries. For I have just come back from the meetings with the British Government in London, and am now in the middle of my meetings with the Indian leaders to decide how power is to be transferred from British to Indian hands. May the friendship existing between the British and Indian fighting forces, which we celebrated to-day in Delhi and London, be symbolic of the future friendship between our peoples.

(His Excellency also read this speech in Urdu.)

¹ General Sir William Slim, 14th Army Commander during the Burma Campaign, now a Field Marshal and Chief of the Imperial General Staff.

Broadcast

3 JUNE 1947

A STATEMENT¹ will be read to you to-night giving the final decision of His Majesty's Government as to the method by which power will be transferred from British to Indian hands. But before this happens, I want to give a personal message to the people of India, as well as a short account of the discussions which I have held with the leaders of the political parties and which have led up to the advice I tendered to His Majesty's Government during my recent visit to London.

Since my arrival in India at the end of March I have spent almost every day in consultation with as many of the leaders and representatives of as many communities and interests as possible. I wish to say how grateful I am for all the information and helpful advice they have given me.

Nothing I have seen or heard in the past few weeks has shaken my firm opinion that with a reasonable measure of goodwill between the communities a unified India would be by far the best solution of the problem.

For more than a hundred years 400 millions of you have lived together and this country has been administered as a single entity. This has resulted in unified communications, defence, postal services and currency; an absence of tariffs and customs barriers; and the basis for an integrated political economy. My great hope was that communal differences would not destroy all this.

My first course, in all my discussions, was therefore to urge the political leaders to accept unreservedly the Cabinet Mission Plan of 16 May 1946.² In my opinion, that plan provides the best arrangement that can be devised to meet the interests of all the communities of India. To my great regret

¹ See Page 13.

² Command Paper 6821

it has been impossible to obtain agreement either on the Cabinet Mission Plan, or on any other plan that would preserve the unity of India. But there can be no question of coercing any large areas in which one community has a majority, to live against their will under a Government in which another community has a majority. And the only alternative to coercion is partition.

But when the Muslim League demanded the partition of India, Congress used the same arguments for demanding in that event the partition of certain Provinces. To my mind this argument is unassailable. In fact neither side proved willing to leave a substantial area in which their community have a majority under the Government of the other. I am, of course, just as much opposed to the partition of Provinces as I am to the partition of India herself and for the same basic reasons.

For just as I feel there is an Indian consciousness which should transcend communal differences so I feel there is a Punjabi and Bengali consciousness which has evoked a loyalty to their Province.

And so I felt it was essential that the people of India themselves should decide this question of partition.

The procedure for enabling them to decide for themselves whether they want the British to hand over power to one or two Governments is set out in the statement which will be read to you. But there are one or two points on which I should like to add a note of explanation.

It was necessary in order to ascertain the will of the people of the Punjab, Bengal and part of Assam to lay down boundaries between the Muslim majority areas and the remaining areas, but I want to make it clear that the ultimate boundaries will be settled by a Boundary Commission and will almost certainly not be identical with those which have been provisionally adopted.

We have given careful consideration to the position of the Sikhs. This valiant community forms about an eighth of the population of the Punjab, but they are so distributed that any partition of this Province will inevitably divide them. All

of us who have the good of the Sikh community at heart are very sorry to think that the partition of the Punjab, which they themselves desire, cannot avoid splitting them to a greater or lesser extent. The exact degree of the split will be left to the Boundary Commission on which they will of course be represented.

The whole plan may not be perfect; but like all plans, its success will depend on the spirit of goodwill with which it is carried out. I have always felt that once it was decided in what way to transfer power the transfer should take place at the earliest possible moment, but the dilemma was that if we waited until a constitutional set-up for all India was agreed, we should have to wait a long time, particularly if partition were decided on. Whereas if we handed over power before the Constituent Assemblies had finished their work we should leave the country without a Constitution. The solution to this dilemma, which I put forward, is that His Majesty's Government should transfer power now to one or two Governments of British India each having Dominion Status as soon as the necessary arrangements can be made. This I hope will be within the next few months. I am glad to announce that His Majesty's Government have accepted this proposal and are already having legislation prepared for introduction in Parliament this session. As a result of these decisions the special function of the India Office will no longer have to be carried out, and some other machinery will be set up to conduct future relations between His Majesty's Government and India.

I wish to emphasise that this legislation will not impose any restriction on the power of India as a whole, or of the two States if there is partition, to decide in the future their relationship to each other and to other member States of the British Commonwealth.

Thus the way is now open to an arrangement by which power can be transferred many months earlier than the most optimistic of us thought possible, and at the same time leave it to the people of British India to decide for themselves on their future, which is the declared policy of His Majesty's Government.

I have made no mention of the Indian States, since the new decisions of His Majesty's Government are concerned with the transfer of power in British India.

If the transfer of power is to be effected in a peaceful and orderly manner, every single one of us must bend all his efforts to the task. This is no time for bickering, much less for the continuation in any shape or form of the disorders and lawlessness of the past few months. Do not forget what a narrow margin of food we are all working on. We cannot afford any toleration of violence. All of us are agreed on that.

Whichever way the decision of the Indian people may go, I feel sure any British officials or officers who may be asked to remain for a while will do everything in their power to help implement that decision. His Majesty as well as his Government have asked me to convey to all of you in India their sincere good wishes for your future and the assurance of their continued goodwill.

I have faith in the future of India and am proud to be with you all at this momentous time. May your decisions be wisely guided and may they be carried out in the peaceful and friendly spirit of the Gandhi-Jinnah appeal.¹

STATEMENT BY HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

3 June 1947

INTRODUCTION

1. On 20 February 1947, His Majesty's Government announced their intention of transferring power in British India to Indian hands by June 1948. His Majesty's Government had hoped that it would be possible for the major parties to co-operate in the working out of the Cabinet Mission's Plan of 16 May 1946, and evolve for India a Constitution acceptable to all concerned. This hope has not been fulfilled.

2. The majority of the representatives of the Provinces of Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, Bihar, Central Provinces and Berar, Assam, Orissa, and the North-West Frontier Province,

¹ See Appendix "A".

and the representatives of Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara and Coorg have already made progress in the task of evolving a new Constitution. On the other hand, the Muslim League Party, including in it a majority of the representatives of Bengal, the Punjab and Sind as also the representative of British Baluchistan, has decided not to participate in the Constituent Assembly.

3. It has always been the desire of His Majesty's Government that power should be transferred in accordance with the wishes of the Indian people themselves. This task would have been greatly facilitated if there had been agreement among the Indian political parties. In the absence of such agreement, the task of devising a method by which the wishes of the Indian people can be ascertained has devolved upon His Majesty's Government. After full consultation with political leaders in India, His Majesty's Government have decided to adopt for this purpose the plan set out below. His Majesty's Government wish to make it clear that they have no intention of attempting to frame any ultimate Constitution for India; this is a matter for the Indians themselves. Nor is there anything in this plan to preclude negotiations between communities for a united India.

THE ISSUES TO BE DECIDED

4. It is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to interrupt the work of the existing Constituent Assembly. Now that provision is made for certain Provinces specified below, His Majesty's Government trust that, as a consequence of this announcement, the Muslim League representatives of those Provinces, a majority of whose representatives are already participating in it, will now take their due share in its labours. At the same time, it is clear that any Constitution framed by this Assembly cannot apply to those parts of the country which are unwilling to accept it. His Majesty's Government are satisfied that the procedure outlined below embodies the best practical method of ascertaining the wishes of the people of such areas on the issue whether the Constitution is to be framed:

(a) in the existing Constituent Assembly; or

(b) in a new and separate Constituent Assembly consisting of the representatives of those areas which decide not to participate in the existing Constituent Assembly.

When this has been done, it will be possible to determine the authority or authorities to whom power should be transferred.

BENGAL AND THE PUNJAB

5. The Provincial Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab (excluding the European members) will, therefore, each be asked to meet in two parts, one representing the Muslim majority

districts and the other the rest of the Province. For the purpose of determining the population of districts, the 1941 census figures will be taken as authoritative. The Muslim majority districts in these two Provinces are set out in the Appendix to this Announcement.

6. The members of the two parts of each Legislative Assembly sitting separately will be empowered to vote whether or not the Province should be partitioned. If a simple majority of either part decides in favour of partition, division will take place and arrangements will be made accordingly.

7. Before the question as to the partition is decided, it is desirable that the representatives of each part should know in advance which Constituent Assembly the Province as a whole would join in the event of the two parts subsequently deciding to remain united. Therefore, if any member of either Legislative Assembly so demands, there shall be held a meeting of all members of the Legislative Assembly (other than Europeans) at which a decision will be taken on the issue as to which Constituent Assembly the Province as a whole would join if it were decided by the two parts to remain united.

8. In the event of partition being decided upon, each part of the Legislative Assembly will, on behalf of the areas they represent, decide which of the alternatives in Paragraph 4 above to adopt.

9. For the immediate purpose of deciding on the issue of partition, the members of the Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab will sit in two parts according to Muslim majority districts (as laid down in the Appendix) and non-Muslim majority districts. This is only a preliminary step of a purely temporary nature as it is evident that for the purposes of a final partition of these Provinces a detailed investigation of boundary questions will be needed; and, as soon as a decision involving partition has been taken for either Province, a Boundary Commission will be set up by the Governor-General, the membership and terms of reference of which will be settled in consultation with those concerned. It will be instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. It will also be instructed to take into account other factors. Similar instructions will be given to the Bengal Boundary Commission. Until the report of a Boundary Commission has been put into effect, the provisional boundaries indicated in the Appendix will be used.

SIND

10. The Legislative Assembly of Sind (excluding the European members) will at a special meeting also take its own decision on the alternatives in Paragraph 4 above.

NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE

11. The position of the North-West Frontier Province is exceptional. Two of the three representatives of this Province are already participating in the existing Constituent Assembly.. But it is clear, in view of its geographical situation, and other considerations, that if the whole or any part of the Punjab decides not to join the existing Constituent Assembly, it will be necessary to give the North-West Frontier Province an opportunity to reconsider its position. Accordingly, in such an event, a referendum will be made to the electors of the present Legislative Assembly in the North-West Frontier Province to choose which of the alternatives mentioned in Paragraph 4 above they wish to adopt. The referendum will be held under the ægis of the Governor-General and in consultation with the Provincial Government.

BRITISH BALUCHISTAN

12. British Baluchistan has elected a member, but he has not taken his seat in the existing Constituent Assembly. In view of its geographical situation, this Province will also be given an opportunity to reconsider its position and to choose which of the alternatives in Paragraph 4 above to adopt. His Excellency the Governor-General is examining how this can most appropriately be done.

ASSAM

13. Though Assam is predominantly a non-Muslim Province, the district of Sylhet which is contiguous to Bengal is predominantly Muslim. There has been a demand that, in the event of the partition of Bengal, Sylhet should be amalgamated with the Muslim part of Bengal. Accordingly, if it is decided that Bengal should be partitioned, a referendum will be held in Sylhet district under the ægis of the Governor-General and in consultation with the Assam Provincial Government to decide whether the district of Sylhet should continue to form part of the Assam Province or should be amalgamated with the new Province of Eastern Bengal, if that Province agrees. If the referendum results in favour of amalgamation with Eastern Bengal, a Boundary Commission with terms of reference similar to those for the Punjab and Bengal will be set up to demarcate the Muslim majority areas of Sylhet district and contiguous Muslim majority areas of adjoining districts, which will then be transferred to Eastern Bengal. The rest of the Assam Province will in any case continue to participate in the proceedings of the existing Constituent Assembly.

REPRESENTATION IN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLIES

14. If it is decided that Bengal and the Punjab should be partitioned, it will be necessary to hold fresh elections to choose their representatives on the scale of one for every million of population

according to the principle contained in the Cabinet Mission's Plan of 16 May 1946. Similar elections will also have to be held for Sylhet in the event of it being decided that this district should form part of East Bengal. The number of representatives to which each area would be entitled is as follows:

<i>Province</i>		<i>General</i>	<i>Muslims</i>	<i>Sikhs</i>	<i>Total</i>
Sylhet District	..	1	2	<i>Nil</i>	3
West Bengal	..	15	4	<i>Nil</i>	19
East Bengal	..	12	29	<i>Nil</i>	41
West Punjab	..	3	12	2	17
East Punjab	..	6	4	2	12

15. In accordance with the mandates given to them, the representatives of the various areas will either join the existing Constituent Assembly or form the new Constituent Assembly.

ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS

16. Negotiations will have to be initiated as soon as possible on the administrative consequences of any partition that may have been decided upon:

(a) Between the representatives of the respective successor authorities about all subjects now dealt with by the Central Government, including Defence, Finance and Communications.

(b) Between different successor authorities and His Majesty's Government for treaties in regard to matters arising out of the transfer of power.

(c) In the case of Provinces that may be partitioned, as to the administration of all provincial subjects such as the division of assets and liabilities, the police and other services, the High Courts, provincial institutions, etc.

THE TRIBES OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER

17. Agreements with the tribes of the North-West Frontier of India will have to be negotiated by the appropriate successor authority.

THE STATES

18. His Majesty's Government wish to make it clear that the decisions announced above relate only to British India and that their policy towards Indian States contained in the Cabinet Mission Memorandum of 12 May 1946 remains unchanged.

NECESSITY FOR SPEED

19. In order that the successor authorities may have time to prepare themselves to take over power, it is important that all the above processes should be completed as quickly as possible. To avoid delay, the different Provinces or parts of Provinces will proceed

independently as far as practicable within the conditions of this Plan. The existing Constituent Assembly and the new Constituent Assembly (if formed) will proceed to frame Constitutions for their respective territories: they will of course be free to frame their own rules.

IMMEDIATE TRANSFER OF POWER

20. The major political parties have repeatedly emphasized their desire that there should be the earliest possible transfer of power in India. With this desire His Majesty's Government are in full sympathy, and they are willing to anticipate the date of June 1948, for the handing over of power by the setting up of an independent Indian Government or Governments at an even earlier date. Accordingly, as the most expeditious, and indeed the only practicable way of meeting this desire, His Majesty's Government propose to introduce legislation during the current session for the transfer of power this year on a Dominion Status basis to one or two successor authorities according to the decisions taken as a result of this announcement. This will be without prejudice to the right of the Indian Constituent Assemblies to decide in due course whether or not the part of India in respect of which they have authority will remain within the British Commonwealth.

FURTHER ANNOUNCEMENTS BY GOVERNOR-GENERAL

21. His Excellency the Governor-General will from time to time make such further announcements as may be necessary in regard to procedure or any other matters for carrying out the above arrangements.

(Appendix to Statement by His Majesty's Government.)

The Muslim majority districts of Punjab and Bengal according to 1941 census.

1. THE PUNJAB

Lahore Division.—Gurjranwala, Gurdaspur, Lahore, Sheikhpura, Sialkot.

Rawalpindi Division.—Attock, Gujrat, Jhelum, Mianwali, Rawalpindi, Shahpur.

Multan Division.—Dera Ghazi Khan, Jhang, Lyallpur, Montgomery, Multan, Muzaffargarh.

2. BENGAL

Chittagong Division.—Chittagong, Noakhali, Tippera.

Dacca Division.—Bakerganj, Dacca, Faridpur, Mymensingh.

Presidency Division.—Jessore, Murshidabad, Nadia.

Rajshahi Division.—Bogra, Dinajpur, Malda, Pabna, Rajshahi, Rangpur.

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI.

3 June 1947.

Press Conference in New Delhi

The Viceroy's Speech together with answers to questions at the Press Conference in New Delhi on 4 June 1947, in respect of the statement by His Majesty's Government, dated 3 June 1947

4 JUNE 1947

(This speech was made extempore and without any notes. The version below, including the subsequent questions and answers was edited from transcripts of several shorthand versions.)

I SHOULD like to begin by thanking the Honourable Member for Information and Broadcasting¹ for coming here and taking the chair at this Press Conference to-day. I have no prepared address to deliver nor have I any notes. I have already delivered my prepared address on the Radio last night. To-day I propose to confine my few introductory remarks to clear the background and then answer any questions that you may care to ask.

When I suddenly found myself going to India, we had some preliminary discussions in London and we settled on a programme that I should spend the first six months in becoming acquainted with the problems and then I should send my recommendations to His Majesty's Government to enable them in due course to prepare the necessary legislation for introduction early in 1948 in Parliament. But when I arrived out here I discovered almost at once that the one point on which every community was agreed, and on which all the British officials were agreed, and with which I very soon agreed myself, was that a decision at the earliest possible

¹ Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

moment as to how we were to transfer power was a prime necessity if we were to put a stop to communal strife and bring back the atmosphere of peace and friendliness without which no progress can possibly be made. So, I set to work harder than I ever remember having done even during the war. I saw as many people as possible. First of all, I gave them background information and then I asked for their views. My own feeling was that a united India was, of course, the right answer but only if communal feeling and goodwill allowed it. So, while I did my very best to get the Cabinet Mission scheme¹ accepted (a scheme which at one time or another—but never at the same time—had been accepted by every community) the riots and bloodshed throughout the country made the prospects of its acceptance obviously pretty remote.

The Cabinet Mission Plan is not an enforceable plan. It depends on goodwill and mutual co-operation. You cannot *make* the Cabinet Mission Plan work any more than you can *make* a horse drink after taking him down to the water. So, when it became clear that it could not be made to work with the complete free-will of at least one of the major communities, I started to look for an alternative. All the Muslim League leaders to whom I spoke made it absolutely clear that they desired partition. Once that fact was inescapably established in my mind, my next point was to see whether the Congress would agree to abandon the principle of unity for which they had stood for so long to the extent of allowing those areas that did not wish to stand for unity to form a separate Constituent Assembly. I found that they stuck by the principle of non-coercion. They said that any Province or area which did not wish to come into the existing Constituent Assembly could form a separate Constituent Assembly, but they very naturally insisted that no large non-Muslim areas should be brought into the new Constituent Assembly. When I spoke to Mr. Jinnah and the other Muslim League leaders on that point, they were, of course, as much distressed, as were the Congress leaders at the prospect of the partition. Mr. Jinnah then asked whether the same principle would be

¹ Command Paper 6821.

extended beyond the Punjab and Bengal. I accepted that, of course. The idea was that if Assam was to be partitioned, then Sylhet and possibly contiguous areas in which there is a definite Muslim majority should be separated. I felt from every point of view that the people of India should take it upon themselves to make up their own minds what they wanted to do for the future of their country.

The next problem was how to produce the mechanism to ascertain the will of the people. Clearly the adult franchise plebiscite would be the democratic way. But such a process was utterly impracticable at this moment when we wanted a very quick answer and speed was the one thing which everybody desired. Elections were held last year and the Legislative Assemblies appeared to me to be the right people to give a quick decision as to the wishes of the people. And so we devised the scheme the details of which you have read in the statement made by His Majesty's Government. But I want to point out that at every stage and every step when this plan was developed I worked hand in hand with the leaders with whom I was ultimately going to discuss the plan. The plan came as no shock to them and no surprise to them, for although I did not actually produce a written plan, I continued to make notes when they saw me and I asked them whether this was the right way or whether that was, and together we gradually constructed a plan which obviously cannot meet with the complete approval of everybody, because if it did my services would have been quite unnecessary. Ages ago the solution would have been found between the leaders themselves. The only service I can claim has been to try as honestly and as impartially as possible to reconcile the various points of view and find out to what extent the views of one party met the view of the others.

There are two main parties to this plan—the Congress and the Muslim League, but another community much less numerous but of great importance—the Sikh community—have of course to be considered. I found that it was mainly at the request of the Sikh community that Congress had put forward the Resolution on the partition of the Punjab, and you

will remember that in the words of that Resolution they wished the Punjab to be divided between predominantly Muslim and non-Muslim areas. It was, therefore, on that Resolution, which the Sikhs themselves sponsored, that this division has been provided for. I was not aware of all the details when this suggestion was made, but when I sent for the map and studied the distribution of the Sikh population under this proposal, I must say that I was astounded to find that the plan which they had produced divided their community into two almost equal parts. I have spent a great deal of time both out here and in England in seeing whether there was any solution which would keep the Sikh community more together without departing from the broad and easily understood principle, the principle which was demanded on the one side and was conceded on the other. I am not a miracle worker and I have not found that solution. All I have been able to say is that the leaders of the respective communities shall appoint a committee which will draw up the terms of reference of the Boundary Commission which has been suggested in the plan. The Boundary Commission shall have representatives of all the parties. So far as it is humanly possible there will be no interference or dictation by the British Government. If we can be of service in advancing impartial views and helping in this work, we shall not be afraid to do so, but this is your country and it is up to you to decide what to do with it.

The most gratifying part of the whole procedure has been the absolute determination of every responsible leader with whom I have spoken that, whatever the solution finally adopted, it was going to be adopted peacefully and without any bloodshed, and they were going to throw in all their weight to stop any further trouble. Every single member of my Cabinet individually and together has expressed to me the strongest possible wish that the Armed Forces of India should be used to ensure that there is no further bloodshed, and that is the reason and the only reason why the Defence Member, Sardar Baldev Singh, announced last night the transfer of additional troops particularly into the areas about to be par-

tioned—the most important being the move of the Fourth Indian Infantry Division into the areas which are about to be partitioned in the Punjab. I do not need to tell you that this is not a British move.

Now comes probably the most interesting of all the developments in the course of these very high-speed talks. After a while it became apparent to me that next to an acceptable solution or settlement all leaders wanted speed in the actual transfer of power. All leaders were anxious to assume their full responsibility at the earliest possible moment, and I was anxious to let them do so, because once the decision has been taken, why should we wait? Waiting would only mean that I should be responsible ultimately for law and order, whereas in point of fact, however much you may talk about responsibility, it is never the same thing unless you are really legally and completely in control. How to produce that very quickly was a legal conundrum of the first order. You cannot transfer power to one or two separate Governments unless those Governments have a constitution. One of the Governments was not even in being, nor was it certain it was coming into being. The other Government would presumably take some time in framing their constitution because a constitution is a thing which should not be hurried as it has to be there for all time. Therefore I was faced with the first difficulty: was I to turn over to two Governments without a constitution? If not, was there any other constitution which could possibly be used for the time being? I do not think I need tell you, because you have studied this problem very closely, that the Government of India Act, 1935, provided the obvious answer. Some of the best brains had framed that Act. When the Secretary of State, Sir Samuel Hoare, was in the witness box of the Joint Select Committee, he answered up to 15,000 questions on this Act and he was able to answer every one to the satisfaction of the questioner without having to alter the framework of the Act. That is a very remarkable achievement, and that is the Act which, suitably adapted, will ultimately confer Dominion Status. That is the Act under which the Government has been functioning up to date and that is

the Act which, as amended, will be worked until such time as the two respective Governments have made up their minds in regard to what sort of constitution they want. I rather labour this point because I would not be a bit surprised if some of you would get up and say "the British are not going to quit at all; they are just dropping us into Dominion Status". You are entitled to think that until I have given my explanation. I hope you will not think in that strain after I have given my explanation. I can assure you that it is the only solution of the problem, and if you want a proof of that, do you imagine for a moment that the responsible political parties could accept such a suggestion if it was not the only sound solution on which we could proceed?

The curious part is, as you know, that independence through Dominion Status is complete, and the different administrations are at liberty to opt out of the Commonwealth whenever they please. Therefore, I mean it most sincerely when I say that power will be transferred as completely this year as it ever would have been by June 1948. It is a true anticipation of the transfer of power and I hope with this added advantage that instead of the British officials and officers having to get out by a certain date, whether the Indians wanted it or not—and I put it to you that although in theory some of the officers might have remained if you asked them, they would have had to resign their commissions if India had left the Commonwealth at once and so would not have been re-employed in the United Kingdom—in practice this solution enables the Indians to pick whom they want to stay here and decide for how long and on what terms of service, etc. The British will leave whenever they are told to leave. It may be we shall all be out by the end of this year. It may be that it may be useful for some of the British to stay on. But the one thing which would have been wrong to say was that we are going out and we are going to leave you in a mess and we are not going to give you any help. That would have been inexcusable. This means that the British will stay so long as they can be of use and when they are not wanted they will go

exactly when they are asked to go. I cannot really put a fairer proposition to the people of India.

Now there is a third party to all these negotiations and that is the party which sits in London, Whitehall, and are legally and constitutionally responsible. I refer to His Majesty's Government. And so I took the opportunity of flying home to see them. I arrived home at lunch time on a Monday, some sixteen days ago. By tea time I was right in the midst of the India-Burma Cabinet Committee going strong. The idea of a Dominion Status solution was completely novel because it had originally nothing to do with this plan, which never contained Paragraph 20. I brought it home as a surprise. The immediate answer was that it would take six or seven months to frame the necessary Act, to introduce the legislation, to pass it through the whole Committee stages and get it accepted. I asked the Prime Minister if he would kindly produce the necessary legislation in this session—that means within the next two months. The session finishes in about two months' time. He said he would do his best and invited me to come back the following day. The Lord Chancellor and the Law Officers of the Crown were there with the first rough outline of the new Act on which they had worked all night. The only thing that will delay the working of this Act is the uncertainty about what the Provinces are going to decide. Until, in fact, the people of India have outlined their own future and the shape of any separate State, the final terms of the Act cannot be drawn. But they can keep the Act already in skeleton form, filling in the bits as information comes. Then by agreement of the Opposition—as you heard in the statement made in the House by the Leader of the Opposition—this Bill will be rushed through in record time. If in fact a complete Act of Parliament of this complexity and importance can be framed and passed into law from start to finish in a matter of two months, I am told it will be a legislative record, and I think it is because of the measure of extreme goodwill that exists among all parties in England to-day and the sincerity of the feeling they have for the good of India that this can be achieved.

(Marginal references in the Questions and Answers refer to paragraphs of H.M. Government's Statement of 3rd June 1947, reported on page 13.)

THE Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel (Member for Information, and Broadcasting): Anybody can now put questions.

1. Q. Is Your Excellency in a position to say whether Mr. Jinnah has accepted the plan?

A. The position about Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League is this. By the Constitution and precedents of the Muslim League no final decision is taken until the Muslim League Council has an opportunity of taking that decision. I am not going to say anything to-day to prejudice the free discussion of that Council. I will put it this way. I took full personal responsibility for mentioning about it in my broadcast after my conversation with Mr. Jinnah. I do not want you to twist that in such a manner as to make it difficult for the Muslim League.

2. Q. Profiting by our past experience, we would like to know, in the event of the Muslim League Council rejecting the plan, what would be the fate of it?

A. That is a hypothetical question. If it ever arises come and see me and I will tell you what I will do.

3. Q. We have had past experience of this.

A. You may have, but not of me. Honestly, come along to me if it happens.

4. Q. In view of the recent speeches made in Bengal by Muslim League leaders, including Suhrawardy, the Prime Minister of Bengal, that in the event of the partition of Bengal, if Calcutta goes to the Hindu zone, the city of Calcutta will be reduced to ashes, does Your Excellency consider the necessity of immediately taking over the administration of the Province under Section 93 or setting up a regional ministry?

A. The answer is, No. That is up to the Governor to decide. As a matter of fact I have spoken to Mr. Suhrawardy and Mr. Kiron Shankar Roy. The last thing either wants is to see Calcutta destroyed.

5. Q. Reference the Indian States, in view of the fact that there are two Constituent Assemblies likely to come into existence, is it open to any of the Indian States to choose to come into either or into neither if they wish to remain units of the British Commonwealth?

A. The answer is that the policy about the Indian States is contained in Paragraph 18. That is to say, that the policy of His Majesty's Government remains unchanged and that policy has been made clear in the declaration of 12 May 1946, and if you read that memorandum you will see that by the time the date comes to transfer power, it will be my duty to hand back paramountcy to each of the

States. After that the States are free agents to enter either Constituent Assembly or make such other arrangements as they deem necessary.

I think you also asked me whether they could enter the Commonwealth separately as Dominions. The answer is that they cannot, as Dominions. If you ask me whether they can have any relations with the Commonwealth apart from that, that is a hypothetical question, which has not yet arisen. If it does I will have to refer it to His Majesty's Government.

6. Q. May I be permitted to ask another question? If any of the Indian States claims to have taken back paramountcy from the quitting British power and wants to enter into separate treaty with His Majesty's Government, would His Majesty's Government be prepared to enter into treaty with that Indian State either from an economic or military point of view?

A. As far as I know this question has not arisen. If an Indian State were to come to me with such a request, I should refer it to His Majesty's Government. I have already answered the question whether they would be given Dominion Status: but this is a hypothetical question. If you ask me further details I really cannot answer. I have not had enough time to think about everything.

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: Let us have questions paragraph by paragraph: it would simplify matters and avoid confusion.

7. Q. In the introductory third paragraph there is a sentence which reads "Nor is there anything in this plan to preclude negotiations between communities for a united India". Does that mean that the decision of the British Government can even at this stage be put into the melting pot, if the Indian leaders produce an agreed alternative plan?

3

A. It means that in a different way: it is not that it will be in the melting pot. It is the desire of His Majesty's Government to promote agreement among the parties. They can always get together and let us know what they want us to do. That is why that sentence has been put in there. It is a part of the plan.

8. Q. Since the attitude of the parties is also described in the first three paragraphs, may I ask whether His Excellency is satisfied that the measure of support that he has received from Mr. Jinnah and his colleagues is almost the same as he has received from the other parties and that whatever the legal or constitutional procedure may be in regard to ratification the element of uncertainty in the case of the other two leaders and in the case of Mr. Jinnah is the same: or is it different?

1-3

A. I must really stick to my original answer. You are trying to draw me out.

9. Q. I do not want to embarrass Your Excellency. Even the

Congress Working Committee has also to consult the All-India Congress Committee and we find that Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader, has stated that the statement is not very satisfactory. My point is whether His Excellency has received from each of the three leaders the Congress, the Muslim League and the Sikhs, that measure of support which gives him the satisfaction that when these matters are referred to their bigger bodies they will receive satisfactory ratification or whether His Excellency is feeling more satisfied in the case of one and less in the case of the other ?

A. Let us put it this way. I am the person who is carrying the responsibility of going ahead with this business. If I have gone ahead, it is because I feel that that was the right thing to do. If you are trying to find out what was given to me in confidence I am not going to be trapped, for the simple reason that I do not want to prejudice the deliberations that may be carried out by the various parties. The main point is, and I repeat it, that I have gone ahead and I have taken, if you like, the risk in doing so, but I have spent the last five years in taking what you might call calculated risks.

10. Q. Will it be open to any Province which may be participating in either Constituent Assembly to feel free, after the constitution is framed, to vote itself out of one union and join the other or join neither ?

A. The answer is that after discussing this particular point with the leaders of both the parties I find that the leaders do not wish the Provinces to have any other option than to join one or the other of the Constituent Assemblies for the good and sufficient reason that they do not wish this plan to encourage what I might call "Balkanisation".

11. Q. The second part of my question is whether any Province participating in either Constituent Assembly will be free after the constitution is framed to vote itself out of one union and join another or join neither ?

A. That again is one of those hypothetical questions which I am trying to avoid answering at the moment, because I am not here to give decisions. I am here to try and help the Indian people to do what they want to do. Let me put it to you this way: supposing a Province having agreed to join a Constituent Assembly or having gone ahead after joining, suddenly turns round and says that it wants to join another Constituent Assembly. It is up to the particular Constituent Assembly to see whether they are going to try to keep the Province against its wish. I cannot believe that Provinces will do such a thing. In fact I am not here to answer hypothetical questions. I am only here to try and help people to make up their mind as to what they want to do.

12. Q. With the Constituent Assembly still functioning under

the limitations of the Cabinet Mission's Plan, will it be free to choose its own course? For example, will the restrictions relating to voting on communal issues or providing for a strong Centre still operate?

A. See Paragraph 19, where it is said "The existing Constituent Assembly and the new Constituent Assembly (if formed) will proceed to frame Constitutions for those respective territories: they will of course be free to frame their own rules."

19

13. Q. May I know why it was not considered necessary to ask the Bengal Assembly or the Punjab Assembly to sit together collectively and vote first on the issue of United India, and later on vote whether they want a partition of the Province or partition of India?

5-9

A. It is precisely what they are allowed to do. Paragraph 7 says "Before the question as to the partition is decided, it is desirable that the representatives of each part should know in advance which Constituent Assembly the Province as a whole would join in the event of the two parts subsequently deciding to remain united. Therefore, if any member of either Legislative Assembly so demands, there shall be held a meeting of all members of the Legislative Assembly (other than Europeans) at which a decision will be taken on the issue as to which Constituent Assembly the Province as a whole would join if it were decided by the two parts to remain united."

7

As regards the other part of the question, namely, whether they can vote for United India, that question does not merely depend on a vote by Bengal or Punjab. What I do myself feel is that there should be a United India.

14. Q. The process is reversed here. You are asking them to sit separately and vote.

A. No. If you read the paragraph you will find "*Before the question of partition is decided, etc.*"

15. Q. Will the vote under Paragraph 7 be by simple majority vote?

A. Yes.

16. Q. Is not the issue already decided, practically?

A. I am not here to say that it has been already decided. You and I may have a jolly good idea. We have still got to go by the voting.

17. Q. The statement says in one place that the Boundary Commission will determine the boundaries on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims and on "other factors". Will you please give us any idea as to what those "other factors" may be?

A. The term "other factors" was put in for the purpose of allowing the Commission the maximum latitude in dealing with this problem. The British are not going to draw up those boundaries. I am quite sincere when I say this and am not bluffing.

18. Q. With respect to the Boundary Commission there was a statement in your Lordship's broadcast last evening in which it was categorically stated that the ultimate boundaries will be settled by a Boundary Commission and will almost certainly not be identical with those which have been provisionally adopted. Why was this categorically stated as "almost certainly". Did your Lordship have in mind certain factors that could lead to a different boundary other than the question of majority population according to community?

A. I put that in for the simple reason that in the district of Gurdaspur in the Punjab the population is 50.4 per cent Muslims, I think, and 49.6 per cent non-Muslims. With a difference of 0.8 per cent you will see at once that it is unlikely that the Boundary Commission will throw the whole of the district into the Muslim majority areas. In Bengal, the district of Khulna is the reverse case, by a very small fraction of percentage: it falls into a non-Muslim majority area. So you can't say that the whole of that district will go completely into the non-Muslim area. The point is this: we have adopted these districts for one purpose and one purpose only. It is the only simple way by which you can divide the Members of the Legislative Assembly. I won't labour this point. And I will be grateful for publicity by the press that it should not be assumed that it is a foregone conclusion that they will be going into the area within which their community is not in a majority.

19. Q. Arising out of this question, do you foresee any mass transfer of population from a Province or District?

A. Personally I do not—I am speaking as a prophet—because of the physical difficulties involved which you can visualise. There are many physical practical difficulties. But I equally think that a measure of transfer of population will come about in a natural way, that is to say people will just cross the boundary or the Government may take steps to transfer populations. Once more, this is a matter, not so much for the main parties, as for the local authorities living in the boundary areas to decide.

20. Q. Supplemental to the question as to the basis on which the boundary may be drawn, may I take it that the question of communal majority in the population would be the basic determining factor and that the various other issues raised by other parties, such as property, economic liability and various other such considerations, would not be allowed to be included in the terms of reference—because that will be a source of conflict?

A. I entirely agree. That is a point I raised with His Majesty's Government. His Majesty's Government could hardly be expected to subscribe to a partition on the basis of landed property—least of all the present Government. I think, therefore, that the question should be left to Indians. I do not want to prophesy what this Com-

mission will decide, but I promise you that it will be free to decide that certain considerations should be taken into account; I think it is absolutely up to them to do so.

21. Q. Is there any time-table fixed for the operation of paragraph 9?

A. To begin with, the plan cannot operate until I am absolutely certain that everybody wants to operate it. In the meantime the Governors have already been issued a warning to put this into effect at the earliest possible moment after they are quite certain about it. No time will be lost, I can assure you, to act as quickly as possible.

22. Q. What will be the Administrations of Bengal and the Punjab in the interim period?

A. That is a matter really for the Legislative Assemblies of those two Provinces to decide in consultation with their Governments.

23. Q. So far as Assam is concerned, there is only one district mentioned. In this Boundary Commission only this one district will be considered and nothing else?

13

A. I gave examples of two districts in Bengal and the Punjab to show why I have made the prophesy that the boundary will not be certainly identical with the division of the districts. If you look at the map, you will see. Obviously the boundary must be drawn in the most commonsense, intelligent, human way you can draw it; and the districts you will find are not necessarily drawn like that.

24. Q. I was speaking of Assam. In Assam there is only one district involved.

A. In Sylhet there are some adjacent areas—I am not very clear of the extent—but there are areas in which there are Muslim majority populations. It is only Sylhet itself which will be asked to vote. There will be two Boundary Commissions for the East and the West, and the Boundary Commission for the East will be asked to look into this question because it is a question of mutual adjustment and commonsense. I put it to you that no area which is not wholeheartedly with it will be included by a State within its area. Conversely, the other State to which an area should owe allegiance, will welcome that area. It is a matter of mutual adjustment for the Boundary Commission to look into all these matters.

25. Q. I should like Your Excellency to clear up a point of procedure. The object of the Boundary Commissions is to carry out the wishes of the individual areas concerned. I should have thought that the proper authority for doing this would be the Constituent Assemblies of the two States. It is for them to assume this responsibility.

A. The question is a good one but the answer is "Speed". To begin with, it is not certain how long it would take to set up Con-

stituent Assemblies for the two parts of India. The function of the Committee which will be set up in this connection is to give instructions. It will not prejudice the issue at all. I should take the Chair at the first meeting of the Committee and I shall probably express no views at all about it. All the way through, what I am trying to do with my staff is to be of service in working the mechanism. I do not like to take the driver's seat myself. I will give you an example. The first thing I did yesterday before broadcasting was to hand round a paper to the leaders which simply showed them the necessary decisions which will have to be taken on points of detail in regard to partition and the subjects which I suggested they should take up. This is in relation to what I may call the administrative consequences of partition, although partition is not yet decided upon. If there is no partition the problem is comparatively simple. I am really trying to get ahead and be of the best possible service to you. I am only thinking out the problems. It is for you to say how you would like them to be solved and we can help you in the process. I want to assure you that there are two reasons why I sincerely want the Indians themselves to settle this problem. The first is that it is your own problem and secondly there is absolutely no desire on my part to interfere in any way with the most suitable method that Indians themselves may adopt for this purpose.

26. Q. Is it not likely that the composition of the committee will be more or less communal in its nature and one community might try to dominate the other ?

A. I do not expect complete agreement but on the other hand, how do you expect me to work the plan ? The main service that a Chairman can give is to sum up the various points, suggesting accommodations and compromises, to shuffle them about, smooth down ruffled feelings and eventually evolve an answer, but the answer that comes out must be the answer that you desire. After all, in this country, if it is not possible for you to settle your own problems without my having to give a judgment every time, it is a terrible reflection on your own country, which I do not share.

27. Q. May I ask if the services of some experts will be available for such purposes. Will you get them from His Majesty's Government on loan or otherwise ?

A. I have been promised the services of two constitutional experts who will be on loan from England. Over and above that, we have a number of experts in this country. I have a number of high class constitutional experts on my own staff who have given me very reliable help all through.

28. Q. May I know whether any administrative arrangements are being set in motion to give effect to the provisional boundaries indicated in the Appendix ?

Appendix

A. I hope that this boundary will be solely for the purposes of the vote. We have left ourselves the option to use it for any other purpose. We should not mislead people in any particular part of the Province into believing that they are going to come on one side or the other of the partition line. It is all a question of speed. If we had years and years at our disposal, we could go on in a leisurely way but now speed is of such importance that we should like to go ahead as fast as we can.

29. Q. Earlier you said that in the matter of division of the Punjab, it will be done on the population basis but you also say that other factors will be taken into consideration?

A. What I said was that we could not expect the present Government in England to make a statement now that they are going to partition any Province on the basis of private property! All I said was that that was a matter for the Indians themselves to decide. Every time you ask me whether I am going to decide a question for you I say "No". If you put the same question in a second and third way, I still say my answer is "No". I am quite sincere when I say that you have got to make up your own mind.

30. Q. The question is how to keep the integrity of the Sikh community intact. What is the provision that you have made in this plan to keep the integrity of the Sikh people intact?

A. I must point out that the people who asked for the partition were the Sikhs. The Congress took up their request and framed the Resolution in the form they wanted. They wanted the Punjab to be divided into predominantly Muslim and non-Muslim areas. I have done exactly what the Sikhs requested me to do through the Congress. The request came to me as a tremendous shock, as I like the Sikhs, I am fond of them and I wish them well. I started thinking out a formula to help them, but I am not a magician. I am an ordinary human being. I believe that it is the Indians who have got to find out a solution. You cannot expect the British to solve all your problems. I can only help you to arrive at the correct solution. A lot can be done by a Chairman but he cannot impose a decision on any one. It is up to the Sikhs who are represented on the Committee to take up the case. It is not I who am responsible for asking for partition.

31. Q. If the matter of partition is to be settled merely on the basis of population and not on the basis of property, and the Sikhs are uprooted from the place where they have got property, will they not become paupers?

A. Look, I want to make it absolutely clear. If that was what you wanted,¹ why did you not put your resolution in that form? Why did you not make the request that you wanted it to be divided

¹ A Sikh had asked this question.

into Muslim and non-Muslim property areas. You have got all that you asked for, but I want to help you.

32. Q. Is it the Congress plan?

A. Yes, it is the Congress plan. Surely, you have already read the Congress resolution.

33. Q. The Congress did not want the partition of India?

A. The Congress resolution on the Punjab suggested that it should be divided according to the predominantly Muslim and non-Muslim areas.

34. Q. Paragraph 10. Do I take it that authorities are semi-conscious of the fact that a great deal of our trouble is due to the separate electorates which were imposed on this country?

A. I do not think that has anything to do with the plan that we are now discussing. I will leave it for somebody else to reply to.

35. Q. How is it that in the case of Bengal and the Punjab the legislatures have been asked to decide which Constituent Assembly they should join, but a different procedure has been proposed in the case of the North-West Frontier Province where the electors will have to decide the issue?

A. The reason for that is contained in Paragraph 11 which has been appropriately worded and in addition to that, please remember that in the case of the North-West Frontier Province there is the heaviest weightage for the minority community which is not to be found in any other Province of India. So much so, that out of fifty seats, twelve have been given to the minorities, although they represent only something like five per cent. In fact, you have got a weightage four times greater than the number of minorities. That is one reason. The other reason is that it is a perfectly straightforward referendum on this particular question.

36. Q. The Congress has already said that they would not like to coerce any area that might like to decide otherwise than to join the Constituent Assembly. Your Excellency knows that in the case of the North-West Frontier Province the party had on the last occasion at the time of the elections tried to clarify the position that they would like to form an independent Pathan State. I do not say that it is official, but it is very much in the picture. If the idea of self-determination was there, why was it thought necessary that a third alternative for a referendum should be adopted. Why do you want to know the point of view of the people and not of the Legislature?

A. The question of whether a Province could decide her independence was not raised specifically in the case of the North-West Frontier Province when the plan was drawn up. It was raised as a matter of general principle and it was turned down as a matter of general principle by the leaders of both the parties. What you are suggesting is that they, a Province of three million people, want to

stand on their own. I do not know how you expect them to stand on their own. I repeat I do not want to make these rules; I am only trying to interpret the feelings and wishes of the leaders.

37. Q. You did consult the views of both the parties and they unanimously turned it down?

A. What I said was that we discussed the principle whether any Province should be allowed to vote for independence or whether they should be obliged to vote for one or other of the two Constituent Assemblies. That is what I said.

38. Q. The Frontier Province probably did not know all that. As soon as they came to know that there was going to be a Sovereign Bengal, they thought that a Sovereign Pathan State will also come into being afterwards.

A. I do not think I am divulging any secret when I say that the parties in Bengal were considering that they should join together to form an independent Bengal. In reply to a telegram from the Governor I said that I would agree to anything which the High Command or the Leaders or Parties in Delhi would agree to. But I must work through a particular system. It will be quite wrong for me to go over the heads of the people in India. I am not trying to settle the future of India, and the Congress leaders have decided not to permit "independence".

39. Q. The Congress Party are supporting the demand of the Frontier people for a Sovereign State. You want both the parties to agree. Is it not enough that the demand of the Frontier people should be put by one party and it should be considered by the rest of the Government?

A. How is it possible for me to agree to each request of one party? In that case, where is the basis of agreement?

40. Q. To avoid the organisation which you are setting up of semi-autonomous units in the two States of Hindustan and Pakistan, may I point out the example of Russia where they used to have a sort of republic?

A. That question is a question which can only be settled by the Constituent Assemblies of the two States concerned. They have got every freedom to do what they like.

41. Q. May I ask whether the Frontier people are now free to select the issue on which they will vote in the referendum?

A. Yes; it is very simple.

42. Q. Can they decide whether they wish to remain independent or whether they wish to join some Constituent Assembly?

A. If the Frontier were to vote for independence and if they can get the two High Commands to agree, I will, of course, agree. If, on the other hand, they want to join one of the two Constituent Assemblies, then we stick to what was originally agreed to.

43. Q. Is not this inconsistent with the principle of provincial autonomy?

A. Let us get it absolutely clearly. It is for them to say whether they want United India, but other people may want to break it into small parts.

44. Q. The referendum will be held under the ægis of the Governor-General and in consultation with the Provincial Governor. Does the Provincial Governor mean the Governor in consultation with the Ministry or the Governor alone?

A. It means that I am going to send up officers whom I am going to select myself. I am proposing to select British officers in the Indian Army who speak the language and who never had anything to do with politics; so far as I know, they have no interest in politics. I am trying to get such impartial men to go out to these places to assure a completely impartial referendum.

45. Q. If the result of the referendum in the North-West Frontier Province goes against the Muslim League and the League consequently tries to withdraw its acceptance, then may I know whether Your Excellency would advise the British Government to force this Plan, or alter the same to suit the sweet-will of the Muslim League?

A. The question as far as I can make out is this: If the referendum in the North-West Frontier Province goes in favour of the Congress instead of the Muslim League, will I agree to the Muslim League then going back on this Plan. The answer is that the referendum in the Frontier Province is a matter of six to eight weeks hence. Long before the referendum in the North-West Frontier Province is finished, the Muslim League will have taken its decision.

46. Q. In Paragraph 12 of the Statement it is stated:

“British Baluchistan has elected a member, but he has not taken his seat in the existing Constituent Assembly. In view of its geographical situation, this Province will also be given an opportunity to reconsider its position and to choose which of the alternatives in Paragraph 4 above to adopt.”

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Does British Baluchistan mean British-administered Baluchistan? British Baluchistan proper means Sibi District and Pishin District.

Mr. V.P. Menon:¹ So far as those two areas are concerned, they are not included in the British Baluchistan District. They are tribal areas.

47. Q. You say British Baluchistan has elected one member for the Constituent Assembly, but that member was elected by reference to the votes of about seven to eight people.

A. We will devise a method to ascertain exactly the opinion of the people in the same area as we have done under the Cabinet Mission Plan.

¹ Secretary of the States Ministry and late Reforms Commissioner to the Viceroy.

48. Q. My point is this: You want to refer to the people of British Baluchistan now. Will it be to the people of the British Baluchistan proper or the people who elected this one representative?

A. I am afraid I cannot follow your question at all.

49. Q. Three members out of the present members of the existing Constituent Assembly are to be taken out if Sylhet votes for partition. 14

A. The ones from Sylhet will be taken out.

50. Q. The representatives from Sylhet will be taken out?

A. Yes, they will go to the other Assembly.

51. Q. Are you going to dissolve the whole contingent from Assam and have new elections for both the Assemblies? How is it to be determined?

Mr. Menon: We have still to determine the procedure yet: we have not thought about it so far.

52. Q. Paragraph 16 reads:

"Negotiations will have to be initiated as soon as possible on the administrative consequences of any partition that may have been decided upon (a) between the representatives of the respective successor authorities. . . ." 16

If they are to be effective, they must be in charge of Defence, Finance and Communications, and so it is putting the cart before the horse.

A. No, it is not so. I cannot give any pronouncement on this because I shall have to consult the leaders of the Interim Government but obviously we have got to set up very soon committees of the Cabinet responsible for future arrangements. Something on those lines has to be worked out, but we have yet to discuss the details. They will begin to negotiate, but they will not reach final agreement until power has been transferred to them and they are completely responsible. Once more it is a question of speed: it is a question of going ahead.

53. Q. Paragraph 16 (c) reads:

"In the case of Provinces that may be partitioned, as to the administration of all provincial subjects such as the division of assets and liabilities, the police and other services, the High Courts, provincial institutions, etc."

What does "etc.", signify?

Mr. Menon: We have not exhaustively categorised the matters which have to be considered so we have left "etc." to be understood in that sense.

54. Q. Will "negotiations on the administrative consequences" also include immediate negotiations with reference to Indian States.

A. The Indian States will be given every facility to negotiate as quickly as they desire. In my opinion, for what it is worth, it will

have to be done on the interim basis of a standstill agreement. Let me give you very simple example in history.

The last partition of this sort occurred in Ireland. After the division between Northern and Southern Ireland was complete, you will be surprised to hear that the Irish had not finished making all their agreements. Among others, there was no agreement over the railways. But do you think one train stopped on that account? They ran on. The General Managers rang each other up and said they would go on the basis of a standstill agreement. Gradually agreements were built up. The world is really a sensible place once you get the anger out of it and unless I have a completely wrong estimate of the Indian character, India will be sensible too.

55. Q. If communal strifes in Provinces do not subside in spite of His Majesty's Government's announcement of their plan and Your Excellency's appeal to the people of India, will Your Excellency allow the Centre to intervene for quelling the disturbances?

A. I have already discussed this. With the authority of the Home Member I am in a position to tell you that there has been a unanimous decision in the Cabinet that we shall not allow any more violence or strife. Sardar Baldev Singh broadcast as Defence Member on that point yesterday. Now we know the bad spots, and there the troops are being sent. The Centre has therefore already intervened in the most effective way possible by passing a unanimous decision in the Interim Government not to tolerate any more violence.

56. Q. Do you mean to say that you have been allowing the disturbances?

A. I did not start the disturbances and I do not want them to go on. But till now the distribution of the armed forces has been on a narrow margin throughout India. At this moment we know the places where disturbances are likely to occur and so we are taking the risk of denuding other parts of India of their armed forces to concentrate them in various particular areas. That is really the answer. We are not voluntarily allowing this to go on.

57. Q. Arising out of Paragraph 18 of the White Paper which represents the decisions of His Majesty's Government, are the decisions or any one of them subject to revision on the fundamental issue regarding the division of India? If so, on what conditions?

A. The whole of this paper is designed to allow for the way in which the people of India decide—whether there is to be partition or a union. If there is to be a union, very little of this procedure, except Paragraph 20 applies. But we have allowed for a union to take place at any time. Therefore your answer is that this White Paper legally provides for a union at any stage that the Indians are likely to come together. Paragraph 20 legally provides for that contingency also. That is the one *re* transfer of power.

58. *Q.* The political unity of India was ensured by paramountcy. So far as economic integrity was concerned, there are hundreds of agreements between British India and Indian States. And I take it when paramountcy goes, the Indian States will be free and independent to join any one Constituent Assembly. There are hundreds of agreements between British India and Indian States regarding the railways, postal services, coinage, etc., and they ensure the economic integrity of India. Are those agreements to remain intact in respect of paramountcy's dissolution or are they to be dissolved when paramountcy dissolves itself?

A. So far as I know those agreements will in any case be subject to a standstill basis while this is being discussed. I am not a lawyer and I am afraid I do not know the legal terms in which those contracts were drawn up. But if legal authority declares that those contracts are drawn up in terms which make them valid after the handing back of paramountcy, of course they will be in force. If someone says they are invalid then they can continue on a standstill basis until fresh agreements are negotiated.

59. *Q.* Your Excellency in reply to my question said in regard to the Frontier you could not conceive of a few million people trying to separate into an independent State. In Paragraph 18 the Indian States, at least some of them, have perhaps an area of fifty square miles and they will become independent overnight. Has Your Excellency also foreseen this, where we could prevent Balkanisation of a very bad form in those areas which become independent overnight, when in fact these areas are much less than the areas on the Frontier where you will not allow a referendum on the independence issue?

A. That was an expression of opinion. So far as I am concerned, the Frontier can be independent as soon as the leaders of the two parties say so.

60. *Q.* Has Your Excellency seen to it that there is no Balkanisation, which will be of the worst form if the Indian States as such become independent without any machinery whereby they can co-ordinate their allegiance to one section or the other?

A. The answer is two-fold. In the first place the decision about the States was taken a year before I came out. There is a vast difference between the legal status of British India and the Indian States. British India is territory over which His Majesty's Government has the complete right to negotiate on behalf of all, and the principle there is to do exactly what the leaders of the communities in those territories want. The Indian States have never been British territory. They have been independent States in Treaty relations with the British. Are you suggesting that we, as our last act, should tear up those Treaties and say we are going to compel them to join this or that new Constituent Assembly? And how are we going to

enforce it? I may say in all sincerity we can only do what it is legally possible to do. The Indian States must be perfectly aware where their interests lie. I, as Crown Representative, during the few months when I am exercising paramountcy on behalf of the King will do everything in my power to facilitate agreement and bring them together or negotiate standstill agreements.

I am going to do what I can. I cannot go back on a pledge given and based on treaties entered into many years ago.

61. *Q.* If Your Excellency would refer to the 1935 Act, you will appreciate my question whether under that Act a place could not be found for the Indian States legally to come in. I agree that later on they might become independent or certain other arrangements can be arrived at. But during the period in which British India will be under the Act of 1935 cannot a place be found for the States under the Act?

Mr. Menon: Under the 1935 Act, the Government of India negotiated with the States whether they would come in under a particular group of States. Under the revised Act what is the procedure to be adopted is a matter for decision between His Excellency and the British Indian leaders but the point which you are mentioning will certainly be borne in mind.

62. *Q.* The principle of non-interference in the affairs of States will mean that it is the intention of His Majesty's Government to leave many types of governments in India when they quit. For example there may be Osmania raj in one place, Dogra raj in another, democracy in a third and autocracy in a fourth and so on and so forth.

A. So far as I am aware the Government of the Indian States has been progressing and has progressed more rapidly during the last year than at any other time in their history. I am not quite clear whether you suggest that in the last two or three months of my stay here I should use my paramountcy to impose what must be the will of the British very heavily on the States. I do not think it would be right. Even if in one or two instances it might be right, I do not think myself that it is desirable. I really think that we must stand by the Cabinet Mission's statement of 12 May which I think if you read carefully you will find has not given me the right to do what you suggest.

63. *Q.* It keeps us absolutely in the dark. We do not know on what basis the negotiations between the Princes and His Majesty's Government are to be carried on. The people are not to be consulted nor any publication is to be made of what transpires at all.

A. There is going to be no negotiation between His Majesty's Government and the States. When we go, we hand back paramountcy, and in the process we offer our services in helping the

princes to make the necessary contacts with the Government of India and with the constituent assemblies to come to an agreement. But we are not actually going to enter into any fresh agreements. We are getting out of all our commitments. In this process of quitting power in India we must try and quit in as legal and correct a manner as possible and that is the position. I would put it to you and it is my belief that I have great faith in the future of the whole of India. I believe that ultimately commonsense will prevail. That is what I feel. This is my sincere belief, for I do not think that there is "no hope".

64. Q. When you withdraw paramountcy, would you regard sovereignty as thereafter being vested with the princes or the people of the States, because there is the British Labour Party in power?

A. It is no question of parties in power. It is a question with whom the treaties were made. This is a matter for lawyers. I must know exactly what the legal position is. Please remember that treaties if they are going to be honoured must be honoured in the letter.

65. Q. May I draw your attention to the Raja of Sarawak's example where he claimed to have the popular support and yet he was dethroned? Are you following two different principles in this instance?

A. Exactly the opposite is the case. He was not dethroned. He claimed that he had popular support to dethrone himself. In other words he meant "I have got the support of the people to take such action as I believe to be in their interests". Not only did he consult the legislative machinery, which was pretty primitive, but members of Parliament were sent out to decide whether the wishes of the people of Sarawak were that the Raja should abdicate in favour of a Governor and they decided that that was the wish of the people, and so he abdicated: he was not dethroned.

66. Q. Is it not a fact that His Majesty's Government brought out the Raja of Sarawak and refused to countenance his re-installation?

A. Most emphatically not. I personally took him back and put him on his throne.

67. Q. (In Hindustani) regarding Berar.

A. (*The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel*) Berar is at present a part of British India.

68. Q. Is it the Congress view or the view of His Majesty's Government?

A. (*The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel*) It is a fact.

69. Q. In view of the fact that speed is the very essence of the plan how are the princes assisted to come to a favourable decision in favour of joining one or the other Constituent Assembly?

A. I had arranged to see the representatives of the princes five hours after the decision had been arrived at with the leaders, at which I told them what the plan was and I offered my services and the services of the Political Department to speed up all the negotiations that can be taken in hand. Then I put it into their heads that they should work on a basis of standstill agreements. I do not think much more is possible in a few hours.

70. Q. You are aware that some of the States have joined the Constituent Assembly. What will be their position after this statement of His Majesty's Government, will they be free to join either Constituent Assembly, will they be allowed to do so?

A. The States are at liberty to send their duly qualified representatives to the existing Constituent Assembly or if they so desire to the other Constituent Assembly if formed. If they are already in the existing Constituent Assembly they have come into it to take part in the work of framing the constitution. In passing I would refer to the *Hindustan Times* report to-day on the question whether the Legislative Assembly or the Constituent Assembly would be the body to deal with this matter. In my opinion it can only be the Constituent Assembly. The Legislative Assembly contains European Members whereas the position will not be so in the Constituent Assemblies. The weightage will be in exact proportion to the populations of the territories which form the two States. It automatically provides the same amount of representation for such States as join the Constituent Assemblies. So, I assume that the two Constituent Assemblies will deal with this—I say I assume because these things have still got to be considered.

71. Q. Will the representatives of the States participate in legislation?

A. If they so wish. When the Constituent Assembly functions as a legislative body the States' representatives will certainly legislate because they will by that time have made their decision about coming in.

72. Q. Do you think that your advice can be so freely taken? Is there no stronger factor as for instance geographical proximity? If Kashmir wants to join the Hindustan Constituent Assembly, it cannot do so; similarly, if Hyderabad wants to join Pakistan Constituent Assembly it cannot do it.

A. I did not say it cannot do it. I said they are absolutely free to choose. But once more I must say it is a matter for the whole of the Indian authorities to tackle. If they feel that a particular State is better with a certain Constituent Assembly in spite of geographical disadvantages it is for them to decide. I said that normally geographical situation and communal interests and so forth will be the factors to be considered. I am not trying to prejudge.

73. Q. What about paths for such long distances—corridors—from one place to another?

A. Which paragraph are you referring to?

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: We come to paragraph 19.

74. Q. What will be your attitude till June 1948 if the people in certain States like Hyderabad do not like the autocratic rule of the Princes?

A. The date of the transfer of power is going to be much earlier, this year, somewhere round about by August. The date you mean is in this year 1947 and not June 1948. The British including this chap here (*H. E. pointed to himself*) may have left by the end of 1947. We may have booked our berths and be gone.

75. Q. Will paramountcy cease with the complete withdrawal of the British?

A. Paramountcy will recede not later than the day on which Dominion Status is given to the two States. Every Resident and Political Agent will be removed.

76. Q. Will you kindly let us know what is proposed to be done about the Political Department's records?

A. I think the records are of considerable significance and interest. I will have to consult the States and the leaders; I cannot take a unilateral decision. I think it is up to the Department concerned.

77. Q. May I ask whether when you mentioned "this chap here" you meant that British troops also will be withdrawn?

A. So far as I am concerned, the answer to that is "yes".

78. Q. How long will "His Excellency" stay as His Excellency and thereafter as Governor-General?

A. That is a most embarrassing question; I think the transfer could be about the 15th of August.

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: Let us come to paragraph 20.

79. Q. In view of the decision to leave and to partition India I feel that it is absolutely essential that on the question of Dominion Status there should be a declaration which is more specific than is contained in paragraph 20. In fact paragraph 20 is perhaps the only disappointing paragraph in the plan. It is possible that it is a matter of drafting. It is absolutely essential that it should be made quite clear that in regard to Dominion Status you make no overtures to or accept no overtures from fragments of India.

A. If you people meet together and ask for one single Dominion Status, that can be done. But if you insist on two States, what are we going to do? I do not quite follow. If there is one India, then we can transfer power to one India. If there are two parts, then we must transfer power to two parts. What else can we do?

80. Q. I am sorry I did not make myself clear. There is a great potential for mischief in regard to Dominion Status, once you are

prepared to deal with different parts of India in regard to the final choice about membership of the Commonwealth.

A. What you mean is that as a result of paragraph 20, one part comes in and the other does not.

81. Q. You should reject an offer on the part of any single individual State to become a Dominion. You should not also make any efforts to induce any separate State of India to come into the Commonwealth. You should insist on India as a whole coming to a decision on the question of membership of the Commonwealth or not.

A. That is exactly the point. We won't allow any separate part of India to come into the Commonwealth. But if the whole of India decides to break into two independent States, they could both come in. Before this paragraph was framed I had most careful talks with the Leaders of Parties. It was only then that I discovered that this particular solution was one that commended itself as a fair and just one—the only solution for speedy transfer of power which both parties desired. I must say that I do honestly think that we have done everything in our power to meet the very point you have mentioned.

82. Q. It is said here that the respective Constituent Assemblies have the right ultimately to elect to remain within the British Commonwealth or not. I want to point out that there is mischief in that provision?

A. I absolutely disagree. The British Commonwealth of Nations is a completely free association of peoples. Each State is completely independent. As far as I know, they decide their own future. There is absolutely no sort of power that I know of to force them to stay in if they want to go out. The whole essence of independence is that you must have complete freedom to do what you like. I would again repeat that the British Commonwealth of Nations is a free association of different nations and the British Government have no control over them. The only connecting link is the King. I honestly think that we have done all we can to transfer power and to give each of the Indian States the greatest possible measure of freedom.

83. Q. May I know whether the Congress leaders and the League leaders have agreed, as was pointed out by Mr. Devadas Gandhi in the particular sentence which he quoted*, that the two States can remain members of the British Commonwealth, because Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru very recently made it emphatically clear that they would not like any foreign power to have bases in any part of India? I would like to know whether that particular paragraph in this statement has the approval of the party leaders?

A. It is good that you have put that question. It is known all over the world that so far as the British Commonwealth of Nations

* Question 82.

is concerned you cannot compel any part to remain inside it, if it wants to go out.

84. Q. Has this position been accepted by the party leaders?

A. I took the responsibility of writing this out and we have been trying to get it into a form which will be most acceptable to all concerned. The whole essence of the proposal is to transfer power completely.

85. Q. Nobody objects to interim Dominion Status. Suppose there are two Constituent Assemblies. It is open to one of them to declare itself absolutely independent and the other to declare itself a Dominion? That is the point that Mr. Devadas Gandhi made.

A. If you grant independence and at the same time try to impose restrictions, the independence becomes a mockery.

86. Q. It is quite possible that so far as the interim period is concerned, you have the support of the three groups of leaders. The point I want to put to Your Excellency is this. You know the history of the last few years. The two major parties have been asking for complete independence knowing full well all the implications of the Statute of Westminster. Since you are proceeding with the consent of the parties throughout, what will happen if one party is not a consenting party to what the other party is doing.

A. I am simply amazed at these questions. If you are sincere in your demand for independence, it means that you have got perfect freedom to do what you like. There is no question of imposing any decision on you. There is no question of one party imposing its will on the other.

87. Q. I am afraid we are still at cross purposes on this particular point. If by raising this question we have caused embarrassment to Your Excellency, I sincerely apologise for it because I have had reason to deduce that His Majesty's Government's opinion on this question and perhaps your opinion also has been exactly in accordance with what I myself suggested a few minutes ago. We cannot envisage the independence which we have not yet got. We are looking forward to having it in June 1948. I have at heart the fair name of Great Britain and that of the Labour Party and yourself. If you allow the Dominion Status to become a bone of contention to the rival parties, you are going to be charged with some kind of conspiracy behind it. Therefore, so far as the Dominion Status is concerned, we shall think of it when all sections of India want it. If to-morrow, we come and say that we must be admitted into the Commonwealth of Nations, nobody shall say "no" to it. If you demand that India should have one voice and not two voices regarding the membership of the Commonwealth of Nations, you will surely be furthering your own aim.

A. I do not think you have yourself understood what the Common-

wealth of Nations is. It is not run by His Majesty's Government. His Majesty's Government represents only one Government and not the Commonwealth of Nations. Before this paragraph could go through, the Dominion Governments had to be consulted. I can assure you there is no sinister motive about. Living as neighbours alongside each other, the two Dominions will have a hundred and one problems that will arise in the course of the partition. If they will feel then that the time has come when one or both should leave the Commonwealth of Nations, they will presumably consult each other. I think it is a sort of a hang-over over-stressing what the British Government in London have done. I myself was surprised how little Mr. Attlee had to do with this. Besides, you are attempting to give to the British Government a power which does not exist there at all. I honestly think that complete freedom remains with you, and I am quite certain that the present Government is not trying to do something which is sinister and I hope you will agree with this.

88. Q. Will the Governor-General be appointed on the advice of the Dominion Governments? If so, is there any bar against there being separate Governors-General for the two States?

A. The moment any State acquires Dominion Status, it chooses its own Governor-General. That Governor-General is chosen by the Prime Minister of the Government or the Dominion concerned. He submits his name to the King, who being a constitutional monarch, may discuss it but finally acts on the advice of the Government concerned. We have many examples on that. It is complete and absolute freedom to do exactly what you like.

There is one more point which I was asked and which I have not yet answered. I was asked whether His Majesty's Government had made no provision for the protection of the minorities, because they are not referred to in this plan. The position about minorities is that since the desire of the British to quit power is now going to be effected quickly, there is no chance for the British to afford protection to the minorities. But I should like to add that on the question of the minorities I have talked to the principal leaders and I am absolutely certain that so long as power rests with them to look after the interests of the minorities they will use it as a matter of conscience, honour and fair play. I have also told them I shall be only too happy if I can help them in any way. I have told the leaders of the minorities that they can see me while I am here and I will do my best to help them. I have got great faith in the future of India and that faith remains. I do believe that the minorities are going to have fair play and a decent chance in the country.

89. Q. May I ask whether each Dominion will have full responsibility for its own defences?

A. Basically, each State, when it gets its independence, is wholly and solely responsible for its own defence. I must tell you that the process of partition of forces, if it is to be done in a way that will not cause the collapse of the morale and the disintegration of the army, must be done in an orderly and well-disciplined manner. When the partition has taken place, the States are absolutely at liberty to get together and have a combined plan for the defence of India or to make their own separate plans. From all the questions that have been asked, there is one thing which I sincerely believe is not yet clear to the people. Somehow people seem to have some doubts about this word "Dominion Status". It is absolute independence in every possible way, with the sole exception that the Member States of Commonwealth are linked together voluntarily. In effect they look for support from each other and they are pulled together, by mutual trust and in due course affection.

Sir Usha Nath Sen : Your Excellency, I am not going to ask any question. My task is a little more pleasant, and that is to thank you for the courtesy and consideration which you have shown to the representatives of the Press by coming here this morning and giving us elaborate interpretations on some of the points in regard to which there was doubt in the minds of some of the correspondents. This is the second time in our memory that the Viceroy and Governor-General has held a Press Conference to inaugurate reforms as far as India is concerned. It was your distinguished predecessor, Lord Linlithgow, who held a Press Conference in Simla and explained to us the provisions and implications of the Government of India Act of 1935. Some of us were there and we asked many questions and some of our questions were as inconvenient as they were to-day. Your Excellency has taken us a stage further by telling us what the new policy of His Majesty's Government is going to be. Judging from the expressions of opinion given by some of our eminent leaders last night on the All-India Radio, and judging from the expressions used in the debate in Parliament yesterday, particularly by the great Leader of the Opposition, who is not too friendly to India, it leads us to the conclusion that the event which concludes to-day is one of personal triumph for you. We believe that ever since you came to this country you did nothing else than to give a new re-orientation to His Majesty's Government's policy in this country with regard to constitutional reforms. Some of us have felt, at least I have felt, that the way you have handled this question and the skill which you have exhibited, is reminiscent of the strategy of South-East Asia. There were many difficulties, there were many hurdles, but you have handled them like a brilliant Commander. Whatever may be the ultimate result, it is a great achievement not only for yourself but may I add also for your colleagues in the

Cabinet who have helped you right through without any mental reservations.

Sir, we thank you very heartily for showing this courtesy to the Press which we deeply value and deeply appreciate.

H.E. : Thank you very much for the kind words which you have used about me. I hope you will not think from the way in which I have been answering your questions that they were not very valuable. I have valued every single question that has been put. So far as I am concerned, I have absolutely nothing to hide. I do not think that any of you really thinks that any single paragraph in this plan has any ulterior significance whatsoever. It has been a sincere attempt to find a solution which will be as acceptable as possible among the peoples who would use this plan. The way this Press Conference has proceeded has encouraged me very much, because after clearing misunderstandings on some points, I think there is not really a single question which has not been helpful.

I would like to conclude with one more word. I am really sincere in my desire to help the Sikhs; I really believe that the leaders of both the major parties are equally sincere and intend to do what they can to help them. In fact I think there will be a revolution in feelings; whereas before there was mistrust and strife, I think we are going to see the leaders come together in a friendly spirit of co-operation.

One word more. In putting out your news and your leading articles you will all aim at one thing—peaceful, quick and speedy settlement, which all of us so sincerely desire.

Speech made by the American Ambassador, His Excellency Dr. Henry F. Grady, on the occasion of the presentation of his credentials at New Delhi

1 JULY 1947

NEARLY six years ago a representative of my Government presented credentials in this hall and thus established a new and more direct relationship between India and the United States. This ceremony to-day is evidence that the relationship thus established has prospered.

During my previous visits here, I became profoundly impressed with the great personalities, the intellectual capacities, the cultural achievements and the warm hearts of the people. My appointment was, accordingly, welcomed by me, not only as a signal honour, but with a keen sense of satisfaction at the opportunity thus afforded of renewing my contact with persons who have so much to contribute to the peaceful progress of mankind.

At the same time, Your Excellency, I am deeply conscious of the great responsibility of my mission which is to further develop and nourish cordial relations between freedom-loving peoples on opposite sides of the earth. In my endeavours to achieve this objective, I earnestly solicit and confidently expect to receive that whole-hearted co-operation so necessary to the maintenance of friendly relations and mutual effort in development of a peaceful world.

Reply to His Excellency Dr. Henry F. Grady
on presentation of his credentials as United
States Ambassador

1 JULY 1947

IT is with very great pleasure that I welcome you on behalf of His Majesty and the Government of India, as the first Ambassador of the United States of America to India.

You have referred to the establishment, six years ago, of direct relations between the United States and India; your remark that the relationship then established has prospered is both felicitous and true.

Your Excellency is an old friend of India and many remember with pleasure your visit as the Personal Representative of the late President.

President Roosevelt was a statesman whose renown will surely grow as the years pass, and I am very proud to have had the privilege of claiming his friendship.

In the South-East Asia Command I had the privilege of having a great number of Americans, principally Engineers and Airmen, associated with the British and Indian forces.

The good relationship which existed between our fighting forces then is, I feel, a happy augury for continued good relations in time of peace.

I am confident that in the days ahead our countries will continue to work together with all members of the United Nations for the firm establishment of peace and happiness throughout the world.

In extending to you once more a cordial welcome I would assure you of the fullest co-operation of all those with whom your work will bring you into touch.

NOTE.—After the first two Ambassadors had presented their credentials, the Viceroy decided not to accept any more addresses with the credentials, and thus no further replies to other Ambassadors were made.

Address to a Special full meeting of the Chamber of Princes

25 JULY 1947

(This speech was made extempore and without any notes. The version below was edited from transcripts of several shorthand versions.)

It is a great pleasure and a great privilege for me to address so many Rulers, Dewans and Representatives of the States of India in this historic Chamber of Princes. It is the first and the last occasion that I have the privilege of addressing you as Crown Representative.

I would like to begin by giving you a very brief history of the negotiations I have conducted since I have been out here and the line that I have taken up about the States.

There were two distinct problems that faced me. The first was how to transfer power to British India and the second, how to fit the Indian States into the picture in a manner which would be fair and just to all concerned.

I dealt first with the problem of British India, because you will realise that until that problem was solved it was quite useless to try to start on a solution of the problem of the States. So I addressed my mind to the former.

There had been universal acceptance among the States of the Cabinet Mission's Memorandum of 12 May and when the political parties accepted the Statement of 3 June¹ they fully realised and accepted that withdrawal of Paramountcy would enable the States to regain complete sovereignty. That gave me a starting point from which to try and deal fairly with the States.

But before I got down to dealing with the States there was one other thing that I clearly had to do. I had to address my-

¹ Reproduced on page 13.

self to the problem of the mechanics of partition—a plan against my personal desires. As you all know, it took three years to separate Burma from India, in spite of the fact (as I can testify, as also His Highness of Bundi and others who fought in Burma) that there are no roads running between India and Burma. Nevertheless, it took three years to arrange that partition. It took two years to separate the Province of Sind from Bombay. It took two years to separate the Province of Orissa from Bihar. Gentlemen, we decided that in less than two and a half months we shall have to go through the partitioning of one of the biggest countries in the world with 400 million inhabitants. There was a reason for the speed. I was quite certain that while the British overlordship remained no satisfactory conclusions could be reached psychologically between the parties. So once we got the two Governments set up and separated, they would be able to try and finish off the details in an atmosphere of goodwill.

Now, the Indian Independence Act releases the States from all their obligations to the Crown. The States will have complete freedom—technically and legally they become independent. Presently I will discuss the degree of independence which we ourselves feel is best in the interests of your own States. But there has grown up during the period of British administration, owing to the fact that the Crown Representative and the Viceroy are one and the same person, a system of co-ordinated administration on all matters of common concern which meant that the sub-continent of India acted as an economic entity. That link is now to be broken. If nothing can be put in its place, only chaos can result, and that chaos, I submit, will hurt the States first—the bigger the State the less the hurt and the longer it will take to feel it—but even the biggest of the States will feel the hurt just the same as any small State.

The first step was to set up some machinery by which it was possible to put the two future Governments of India—the Dominions of India and Pakistan—into direct touch with the States. So I conceived the scheme of setting up two States Departments within the future Governments. Please note

that these States Departments are not the successors of the Political Department. They have been set up simultaneously and side by side. While the Political Department exercised functions relating to Paramountcy on behalf of the Crown Representative, the States Departments are to take over those subjects gradually which have nothing to do with Paramountcy but which will be concerned with relations with neighbouring States and also provide the machinery to negotiate in such matters. In India the States Department is under the admirable guidance of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel with my own Reforms Commissioner, Mr. V. P. Menon as Secretary. In Pakistan the Department is under Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar with Mr. Ikramullah as the Secretary.

It was necessary to set up two States Departments, one in each Government because the States are theoretically free to link their future with whichever Dominion they may care. But when I say that they are at liberty to link up with either of the Dominions, may I point out that there are certain geographical compulsions which cannot be evaded. Out of something like 565 States, the vast majority are irretrievably linked geographically with the Dominion of India. The problem therefore is of far greater magnitude with the Dominion of India than it is with Pakistan. In the case of Pakistan the States, although important are not so numerous, and Mr. Jinnah the future Governor-General of Pakistan is prepared to negotiate the case of each State separately and individually. But in the case of India where the overwhelming majority of the States are involved, clearly separate negotiation with each State is out of the question.

The first step that I took was to suggest that in the Bill before Parliament—the Indian Independence Act—a clause should be put in which would enable certain essential agreements to continue until remounced by either side. That was only done to ensure that there should be some continuity if in the short time available it was not possible to get the agreement through with every State representative. It does not replace the need for Standstill Agreements; it gives a very slight breathing space.

Now, I think it is no exaggeration to say that most Rulers and Dewans were apprehensive as to what their future would be when Paramountcy lapsed. At one time it appeared that unless they joined the Constituent Assembly and accepted the Constitution when it was framed, they would be outside the organisation and left in a position which, I submit, no State could view with equanimity—left out and having no satisfactory relations or contacts with either Dominion Government. You can imagine how relieved I was, and I am sure you will yourselves have been equally relieved, when Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel on taking over the States Department made, if I may say so, a most statesmanlike statement of what he considered were the essentials towards agreement between the States and the Dominion of India.

Let us turn for one moment to the Cabinet Mission Plan of 16 May 1946.¹ In this Plan the proposal was that the States should surrender to the Central Government three subjects—Defence, External Affairs and Communications. That was a Plan which, to the best of my belief, every Ruler and every State accepted as reasonable, fair and just. I talked with so many Rulers and everyone felt that Defence was a matter that a State could not conduct for itself. I am not talking of internal security but of defence against external aggression. I submit, that if you do not link up with one or the other of the Dominions, you may be cut off from any source of supplies of up-to-date arms or weapons.

“External Affairs” is inextricably linked up with Defence. “External Affairs” is something again which is outside the boundaries of India in which not even the greatest State can operate effectively. You can hardly want to go to the expense of having ambassadors or ministers or consuls in all foreign countries; surely you want to be able to use those of India or Pakistan. Once more I suggest that “External Affairs” is something that you have not dealt with since the formation of the East India Company. It would be difficult to operate and will also be a source of embarrassment for you to have to take it up and it can only be managed by those who

¹ Command Paper 6821.

manage the Defence of the country. I submit that if you take it up it will be a liability and not an asset.

The third subject is communications. "Communications" is really a means of maintaining the life-blood of the whole sub-continent. I imagine everybody agrees that the life of the country has got to go on. The continuity of communications is already provided for to a certain extent in the Indian Independence Act; and most of the representatives here have come to discuss it as Item 2 on the agenda.

Therefore I am sure you will agree that these three subjects have got to be handled for you for your convenience and advantage by a larger organisation. This seems so obvious that I was at a loss to understand why some Rulers were reluctant to accept the position. One explanation probably was that some of you were apprehensive that the Central Government would attempt to impose a financial liability on the States or encroach in other ways on their sovereignty. If I am right in this assumption, at any rate so far as some Princes are concerned, I think I can dispel their apprehensions and misgivings. The Draft Instrument of Accession which I have caused to be circulated as a basis for discussion (and not for publication) to the representatives of the States provides that the States accede to the appropriate Dominion on the three subjects only without any financial liability. Further, that Instrument contains an explicit provision that in no other matters has the Central Government any authority to encroach on the internal autonomy or the sovereignty of the States. This would, in my view, be a tremendous achievement for the States. But I must make it clear that I have still to persuade the Government of India to accept it. If all of you will co-operate with me and are ready to accede, I am confident that I can succeed in my efforts. Remember that the day of the transfer of power is very close at hand and, if you are prepared to come, you must come before 15 August. I have no doubt that this is in the best interests of the States, and every wise Ruler and wise Government would desire to link up with the great Dominion of India on a basis which leaves you great internal autonomy and which at the same

time gets rid of your worries and cares over External Affairs, Defence and Communications.

The whole country is passing through a critical period. I am not asking any State to make any intolerable sacrifice of either its internal autonomy or independence. My scheme leaves you with all the practical independence that you can possibly use and makes you free of all those subjects which you cannot possibly manage on your own. You cannot run away from the Dominion Government which is your neighbour any more than you can run away from the subjects for whose welfare you are responsible. Whatever may be your decision, I hope you feel that I have at least done my duty by the States.

NOTE.—At His Excellency's suggestion a Small Committee of Rulers, Dewans and Representatives of States was formed to discuss the Draft Instrument of Accession, Standstill Agreements and other matters.

Address to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly at Karachi

14 AUGUST 1947

I HAVE a message from His Majesty the King to deliver to you to-day. This is His Majesty's message: "I send you my greetings and warmest wishes on this great occasion when the new Dominion of Pakistan is about to take its place in the British Commonwealth of Nations. In thus achieving your independence by agreement, you have set an example to all freedom-loving people throughout the world.

"I know that I can speak for all sections of opinion within the British Commonwealth when I say that their support will not fail you in upholding democratic principles. I am confident that the statesmanship and the spirit of co-operation which have led to the historic developments you are now celebrating will be the best guarantee of your future happiness and prosperity. Great responsibilities lie ahead of you and your leaders. May the blessings of the Almighty sustain you in all your future tasks. Be assured always of my sympathy and support as I watch your continuing efforts to advance the cause of humanity."

I am speaking to you to-day as your Viceroy. To-morrow the Government of the new Dominion of Pakistan will rest in your hands I shall be the Constitutional head of your neighbour the Dominion of India. The leaders of both Governments, however, have invited me to be the independent Chairman of the Joint Defence Council. This is an honour which I shall strive to merit.

To-morrow two new sovereign states will take their place in the Commonwealth: not young nations, but the heirs of old and proud civilisations: fully independent States, whose leaders are statesmen, already known and respected through-

out the world, whose poets and philosophers, scientists, and warriors have made their imperishable contribution to the service of mankind: not immature Governments or weak, but fit to carry their great share of responsibility for the peace and progress of the world.

The birth of Pakistan is an event in history. We, who are part of history, and are helping to make it, are not well-placed, even if we wished, to moralise on the event, to look back and survey the sequence of the past that led to it. History seems sometimes to move with the infinite slowness of a glacier and sometimes to rush forward in a torrent. Just now, in this part of the world our united efforts have melted the ice and moved some impediments in the stream, and we are carried onwards in the full flood. There is no time to look back. There is time only to look forward. I wish to pay tribute to the great men, your leaders, who helped to arrive at a peaceful solution for the transfer of power.

Here I would like to express my tribute to Mr. Jinnah. Our close personal contact, and the mutual trust and understanding that have grown out of it, are, I feel, the best of omens for future good relations. He has my sincere good wishes as your new Governor-General.

Moral courage is the truest attribute of greatness, and the men who have allowed the paramount need for agreement and a peaceful solution to take precedence over the hopes and claims they so strongly held and keenly felt, have shown moral courage in a high degree. I wish to acknowledge, too, the help of others; of the men who advised and assisted the process of negotiation; of the men who kept the machinery of administration running under great difficulties; of the men who have worked day and night to solve the innumerable problems of partition. All this has been achieved with toil and sweat. I wish I could say also without tears or blood, but terrible crimes have been committed. It is justifiable to reflect, however, that far more terrible things might have happened if the majority had not proved worthy of the high endeavour of their leaders, or had not listened to that great appeal which Mr. Jinnah and Mahatma Gandhi to-

gether made, and which the respective future Governments reiterated in a statement made by the Partition Council.

May I remind you of the terms of that Statement? The two Governments declared that "it is their intention to safeguard the legitimate interests of all citizens, irrespective of religion, caste or sex. In the exercise of their normal civic rights all citizens will be regarded as equal and both Governments will assure to all people within their territories the exercise of liberties such as freedom of speech, the right to form associations, the right to worship in their own way and the protection of their language and culture.

"Both Governments further undertake that there shall be no discrimination against those who before 15 August have been political opponents."

The honouring of these words will mean nothing less than a charter of liberty for a fifth of the human race.

Some days ago I went to Lahore. From the reports I had received I expected to witness a scene of unparalleled devastation. Those of you who have not visited Lahore will be relieved to hear that the destruction is far less than I expected. It amounts to not more than eighteen houses per thousand of the whole municipal area. I do not say this in extenuation of the madness which caused even so much wanton damage. Rather I wish to pay my tribute, and ask you to do the same, to those who have saved Lahore from complete ruin: to the police and fire services, to the soldiers and the civil administration, and to all public-spirited citizens, who resisted or prevented the powers of destruction; also to the many who helped to tend and heal the tragic victims wherever these outrages have occurred. The ideal of public service which inspired these men and women, the spirit of co-operation and compromise which inspired your leaders, these are political and civic virtues that make a nation great, and preserve it in greatness. I pray that you may practise them always.

Now the time has come to bid you farewell—on behalf of His Majesty's Government, on behalf of my country, and on behalf of myself, also on behalf of my wife, whose thoughts and prayers will be so much with the women in Pakistan.

This is a parting between friends, who have learned to honour and respect one another, even in disagreement. It is not an absolute parting, I rejoice to think, not an end of comradeship. Many of my countrymen for generations have been born in this country, many lived their lives here; and many have died here. Some will remain for trade and commerce; and others in Government service and in the armed forces who count it an honour that they have been invited to serve you.

During the centuries that British and Indians have known one another, the British mode of life, customs, speech and thought have been profoundly influenced by those of India—more profoundly than has often been realised. May I remind you that, at the time when the East India Company received its Charter, nearly four centuries ago, your great Emperor Akbar was on the throne, whose reign was marked by perhaps as great a degree of political and religious tolerance, as has been known before or since. It was an example by which, I honestly believe, generations of our public men and administrators have been influenced. Akbar's tradition has not always been consistently followed, by British or Indians, but I pray, for the world's sake, that we will hold fast, in the years to come, to the principles that this great ruler taught us.

May Pakistan prosper always. May her citizens be blessed with health and happiness; may learning and the arts of peace flourish in her boundaries, and may she continue in friendship with her neighbours and with all the nations of the world.

Part Two

SPEECHES AS CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA

(Including related addresses)

15 August, 1947

to

21 June, 1948

Address to the India Constituent Assembly at New Delhi

15 AUGUST 1947

I HAVE a message from His Majesty the King to deliver to you to-day. This is His Majesty's message:

"On this historic day when India takes her place as a free and independent Dominion in the British Commonwealth of Nations, I send you all my greetings and heartfelt wishes.

"Freedom-loving people everywhere will wish to share in your celebrations, for with this transfer of power by consent comes the fulfilment of a great democratic ideal to which the British and Indian peoples alike are firmly dedicated. It is inspiring to think that all this has been achieved by means of peaceful change.

"Heavy responsibilities lie ahead of you, but when I consider the statesmanship you have already shown and the great sacrifices you have already made, I am confident that you will be worthy of your destiny.

"I pray that the blessings of the Almighty may rest upon you and that your leaders may continue to be guided with wisdom in the tasks before them. May the blessings of friendship, tolerance and peace inspire you in your relations with the nations of the world. Be assured always of my sympathy in all your efforts to promote the prosperity of your people and the general welfare of mankind."

It is barely six months ago that Mr. Attlee invited me to accept the appointment of last Viceroy. He made it clear that this would be no easy task—since His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom had decided to transfer power to Indian hands by June 1948. At that time it seemed to many that His Majesty's Government had set a date far too early. How could this tremendous operation be completed in fifteen months?

However, I had not been more than a week in India before I realised that this date of June 1948 for the transfer of power was too late rather than too early; communal tension and rioting had assumed proportions of which I had had no conception when I left England. It seemed to me that a decision had to be taken at the earliest possible moment unless there was to be risk of a general conflagration throughout the whole sub-continent.

I entered into discussions with the leaders of all the parties at once—and the result was the plan of 3 June.¹ Its acceptance has been hailed as an example of fine statesmanship throughout the world. The plan was evolved at every stage by a process of open diplomacy with the leaders. Its success is chiefly attributable to them.

I believe that this system of open diplomacy was the only one suited to the situation in which the problems were so complex and the tension so high. I would here pay tribute to the wisdom, tolerance and friendly help of the leaders which have enabled the transfer of power to take place ten and a half months earlier than originally intended.

At the very meeting at which the plan of 3 June was accepted, the leaders agreed to discuss a paper which I had laid before them on the administrative consequences of partition; and then and there we set up the machinery which was to carry out one of the greatest administrative operations in history—the partition of a sub-continent of 400 million inhabitants and the transfer of power to two independent governments in less than two and a half months. My reason for hastening these processes was that, once the principle of division had been accepted, it was in the interest of all parties that it should be carried out with the utmost speed. We set a pace faster in fact than many at the time thought possible. To the Ministers and officials who have laboured day and night to produce this astonishing result, the greatest credit is due.

I know well that the rejoicing which the advent of freedom brings is tempered in your hearts by the sadness that it

¹ See H. M. Government's Statement on page 13.

could not come to a united India; and that the pain of division has shorn to-day's events of some of its joy. In supporting your leaders in the difficult decision which they had to take, you have displayed as much magnanimity and realism as have those patriotic statesmen themselves.

These statesmen have placed me in their debt for ever by their sympathetic understanding of my position. They did not, for example, press their original request that I should be the Chairman of the Arbitral Tribunal. Again they agreed from the outset to release me from any responsibility whatsoever for the partition of the Punjab and Bengal. It was they who selected the personnel of the Boundary Commissions including the Chairman; it was they who drew up the terms of reference; it is they who shoulder the responsibility for implementing the award. You will appreciate that had they not done this, I would have been placed in an impossible position.

Let me now pass to the Indian States. The plan of 3 June dealt almost exclusively with the problem of the transfer of power in British India; and the only reference to the States was a paragraph which recognised that on the transfer of power, all the Indian States—565 of them—would become independent. Here then was another gigantic problem and there was apprehension on all sides. But after the formation of the States Department it was possible for me, as Crown Representative, to tackle this great question. Thanks to that far-sighted statesman, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Member in charge of the States Department, a scheme was produced which appeared to me to be equally in the interests of the States as of the Dominion of India. The overwhelming majority of States are geographically linked with India, and therefore this Dominion had by far the bigger stake in the solution of this problem. It is a great triumph for the realism and sense of responsibility of the Rulers and the Governments of the States, as well as for the Government of India, that it was possible to produce an Instrument of Accession which was equally acceptable to both sides; and one, moreover, so simple and so straightforward that within less than three weeks practically all the States concerned had signed the

Instrument of Accession and the Standstill Agreement. There is thus established a unified political structure (in the new Dominion of India) covering over 300 million people and the major part of this great sub-continent.

The only State of the first importance that has not yet acceded is the premier State, Hyderabad.

Hyderabad occupies a unique position in view of its size, population and resources, and it has its special problems. The Nizam, while he does not propose to accede to the Dominion of Pakistan, has not up to the present felt able to accede to the Dominion of India. His Exalted Highness has, however, assured me of his wish to co-operate in the three essential subjects of External Affairs, Defence and Communications with that Dominion whose territories surround his State. With the assent of the Government, negotiations will be continued with the Nizam and I am hopeful that we shall reach a solution satisfactory to all.

From to-day I am your constitutional Governor-General and I would ask you to regard me as one of yourselves, devoted wholly to the furtherance of India's interests. I am honoured that you have endorsed the invitation originally made to me by your leaders to remain as your Governor-General. The only consideration I had in mind in accepting was that I might continue to be of some help to you in the difficult days which lie immediately ahead. When discussing the Draft of the India Independence Act your leaders selected the 31 March 1948 as the end of what may be called the interim period. I propose to ask to be released in April. It is not that I fail to appreciate the honour of being invited to stay on in your service, but I feel that as soon as possible India should be at liberty, if you so wish, to have one of her own people as her Governor-General. Until then my wife and I will consider it a privilege to continue to work with and amongst you. No words can express our gratitude for the understanding and co-operation as well as the true sympathy and generosity of spirit which have been shown to us at all times.

I am glad to announce that "my" Government (as I am now constitutionally entitled and most proud to call

them) have decided to mark this historic occasion by a generous programme of amnesty. The categories are as wide as could be consistent with the overriding consideration of public morality and safety, and special account has been taken of political motives. This policy will also govern the release of military prisoners undergoing sentences as a result of trial by court-martial.

The tasks before you are heavy. The war ended two years ago. In fact it was on this very day two years ago that I was with that great friend of India, Mr. Attlee in his Cabinet Room when the news came through that Japan had surrendered. That was a moment for thankfulness and rejoicing, for it marked the end of six bitter years of destruction and slaughter. But in India we have achieved something greater—what has been well described as “A treaty of Peace without a War”. Nevertheless, the ravages of the war are still apparent all over the world. India, which played such a valiant part, as I can personally testify from my experience in South-East Asia, has also had to pay her price in the dislocation of her economy and the casualties to her gallant fighting men with whom I was so proud to be associated. Preoccupations with the political problem retarded recovery. It is for you to ensure the happiness and ever-increasing prosperity of the people, to provide against future scarcities of food, cloth and essential commodities and to build up a balanced economy. The solution of these problems requires immediate and whole-hearted effort and far-sighted planning, but I feel confident that with your resources in men, material and leadership you will prove equal to the task.

What is happening in India is of far more than purely national interest. The emergence of a stable and prosperous State will be a factor of the greatest international importance for the peace of the world. Its social and economic development, as well as its strategic situation and its wealth of resources, invest with great significance the events that take place here. It is for this reason that not only Great Britain and the sister Dominions but all the great nations of the world

will watch with sympathetic expectancy the fortunes of this country and will wish it all prosperity and success.

At this historic moment, let us not forget all that India owes to Mahatma Gandhi—the architect of her freedom through non-violence. We miss his presence here to-day, and would have him know how much he is in our thoughts.

Mr. President, I would like you and our other colleagues of the late Interim Government to know how deeply I have appreciated your unfailing support and co-operation.

In your first Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, you have a world-renowned leader of courage and vision. His trust and friendship have helped me beyond measure in my task. Under his able guidance, assisted by the colleagues whom he has selected, and with the loyal co-operation of the people, India will now attain a position of strength and influence and take her rightful place in the comity of nations.

Broadcast in the American Programme on the V. J. Anniversary

15 AUGUST 1947

Two years ago to-day I had just returned from the Potsdam Conference and was in the Prime Minister's room in 10 Downing Street, when the news of the Japanese surrender came through. Here, as I speak to you to-night in Delhi, we are celebrating an event no less momentous for the future of the world—India's Independence Day. In the Atlantic Charter, we—the British and Americans—dedicated ourselves to champion the self-determination of peoples and the independence of nations. Bitter experience has taught us that it is often easier to win a war than to achieve a war aim; so let us remember 15 August—V. J. Day—not only as the celebration of a victory, but also as the fulfilment of a pledge.

When, at the Quebec Conference in August 1943, President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill gave me the Supreme Allied Command in South-East Asia, it was generally conceded that this was a tough assignment. But thanks to the magnificent support of all the Allied Forces in the Theatre we won through. We inflicted the biggest single land defeat which was suffered by Japan—killing close on 200,000 of the Japanese Army in Burma. We had the lowest priority in modern weapons and had to face natural hazards often more formidable and malignant than the enemy himself. I won't attempt to reel off the separate achievements of Americans, and British, Indians and Chinese and the many other nationalities who comprised the Allied Forces in the South-East Asia Command or S.E.A.C. as we used to call it, for the essence of their achievement was that they loyally served a common cause and brought indispensable help to each other. What members of Bill Slim's 14th Army will not remember

with gratitude the supply service of American Transport Squadrons of the Allied Air Forces in Burma commanded by George Stratemeyer. Together they brought about a revolution in Jungle Warfare.

America produced many splendid war leaders, but I am proud to have had, in South-East Asia such Commanders as the late Joe Stilwell, and Dan Sultan, veterans whose memory I salute and who assuredly gave their lives by their devoted service, Speck Wheeler, a fine administrator and an even finer colleague, Al Wedemeyer a great staff officer and friend who left us to become Commanding-General in China, and, among the younger men, such brilliant and gallant fighters as Old, Merrill, Cochran and Allison. The exploits of the Allied Forces in S.E.A.C. belong to history and will stand the test of time.

To all my American colleagues who served with me in S.E.A.C. I would like to send my special greetings from Delhi on this second anniversary of V.J. Day. You did your bit in overthrowing a horrible tyranny and making it possible for free men everywhere to make the world a better place to live in, and in giving us this chance in India.

Extempore Speech to the first contingent of British troops to leave India consequent on the transfer of power

17 AUGUST 1947

I have come down to Bombay to-day to say good-bye to the first contingent of the British Forces in India to leave India after the transfer of power.

I want to talk to you to-day in three different capacities: First of all as the Constitutional Governor-General of India, asked to fill the post by the Indians themselves. I speak to you on behalf of the Government of India who charged me to say good-bye to you and wish you all the best of luck.

The Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, has himself sent you a message which Major-General Cariappa, the senior Indian Officer, will deliver to you just before the ship sails.

This is a very historic day; because with the departure of the British Forces, the outward and visible sign of British rule in India disappears. And its place is taken by something very much more valuable—a really great friendship between the British and the Indians.

The second capacity I want to talk to you in is as the ex-Viceroy of the whole of India, which post I held up to two days ago. I want to thank all the British forces for the part that they have played in establishing good relations in this country.

When I came out here my instructions were to transfer power in a manner that would ensure a close and lasting basis of friendship between the British and the Indians. There could have been no better ambassadors than the troops. You have all played a very valuable part in bringing about the transfer of power, not only in looking after lives and property during times of trouble, but by your friendly good behaviour.

I want to say how grateful I am to you for helping me complete that task.

And completed it has been: because both in Karachi on the 14th and in Delhi on the 15th of August, and even in the rain here in Bombay, we have had a most wonderful reception from the Indian people. A reception which in some respects was so magnificent that it could not have been more encouraging if it had been coming from the British themselves.

The crowds have been really enthusiastic and friendly in every possible way; and amid cries of "Mahatma Gandhi ki jai" and "Pandit Nehru ki jai", I was flattered to hear an occasional "Pandit Mountbatten ki jai".

I asked Pandit Nehru to come down here to-day, and had he been able to come I am not sure that one of you chaps would not have said "What cheer Admiral Nehru". But Pandit Nehru had to go with the Prime Minister of Pakistan for a conference at Ambala to settle the difficulties of the Punjab.

The third and last capacity in which I want to talk to you to-day is that of the ex-Supremo of South-East Asia, from 1943 to 1946. There were upwards of a million men in Burma—of many nationalities. Among these the majority were British and Indian troops who fought together to defend India—particularly at the battle of Kohima, where you Norfolks did so well in the 2nd Division. This was the first time when British and Indian troops fought together on Indian soil to protect India.

I gather there are not many of you left here who had any share in those exploits—7 officers and 11 men of the Norfolks—but I dare say that from time to time one or other of the old soldiers has told you of the hardships that were successfully overcome in Burma, and of how they licked the Japs. You may have thought they were shooting a line.

I can assure you the fighting in Burma was pretty tough and the forces there really did do a wonderful job. We inflicted the biggest single defeat upon the Japanese on land; and we killed over 190,000 Japs in the process.

In case you think I am shooting a bit of a line now, let me tell you a true story that was well known at that time:

A day or two after the surrender of the Japanese I got a telegram from General Kimura who commanded all the three Japanese armies in Burma. This telegram was a most polite telegram—you have no idea how polite the Japanese became after the surrender. It read: "I beg to inform Your Excellency that I have this day passed the order to cease fire to all the Japanese armies in Burma except for certain units".

Then came Paragraph 2. "If Your Excellency will kindly inform me of the whereabouts of the remainder of my forces I will try and pass the order to them as well."

I came down here with the new Supreme Commander, your late Commander-in-Chief, Field Marshal Auchinleck; and on his behalf; on my own; as well as on behalf of everybody in India I want to say thank you for the job you have done.

Good luck to you; a pleasant trip home; and I hope you find everybody in good heart when you get back.

Good-bye and good luck.

Message from The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister of India, read out to the first contingent
of British troops to leave India on the transfer of power,
at Bombay

17 AUGUST 1947

DURING the last few days vital changes have taken place in the relationship between India and England. The bonds that tied India to England against the wishes of her people have been removed, resulting in a far more friendly feeling in India towards England than at any time previously. That unnatural relationship is giving place gradually to a normal and natural relationship between two countries who desire to co-operate for their mutual advantage and the common good.

Few things are more significant of this change than the withdrawal of British troops from India. Foreign armies are the most obvious symbols of foreign rule. They are essentially armies of occupation and as such their presence must inevitably be resented. No

soldier likes this business, for it is neither war nor peace but a continuing tension and living in a hostile atmosphere. I am sure that sensitive British officers and men must have disliked being placed in this abnormal position.

It is good, therefore, for all concerned that the British Armed Forces in India are being withdrawn and are going home to serve their country in other ways. As an Indian I have long demanded the withdrawal of British Forces from India, for they were a symbol to us of much that we disliked. But I had no grievance against them as individuals and I liked and admired many whom I came across. What we disliked was the system which inevitably brought ill-will in its train apart from other consequences.

I know the good qualities of the British soldier and I should like our own army to develop those qualities. On the occasion of the departure of the first contingent of British troops from India I wish them God-speed and trust that between them and the soldiers and people of India there will be goodwill and friendship which can only subsist between equals who do not fear each other. We have nothing to fear from each other in the future and there are many things in which we can co-operate together.

It is rare in history that such a parting takes place not only peacefully but also with goodwill. We are fortunate that this should have happened in India. That is a good augury for the future.

Speech by His Highness The Maharaja of Jaipur at the State Banquet at Rambagh Palace, Jaipur

14 DECEMBER 1947

I RISE to offer Your Excellencies, Your Highnesses and all other guests a most hearty welcome, not merely the conventional one which is customary on such occasions but one that really comes from the depth of my heart. No strangers to me but old friends and relations, I am exceedingly grateful to you all for generously responding to my invitation in spite of your preoccupations and the inconveniences involved. I am specially grateful to His Excellency Earl Mountbatten for coming to Jaipur in response to my invitation and to Her Excellency Countess Mountbatten for being amongst us this evening. I appreciate this visit of his all the more as we know how preoccupied he is these days with problems of the utmost gravity. Amongst the brother Princes who have found it possible to favour me with their company many are my own kith and kin and others equally near and dear to me.

I had the privilege of meeting His Excellency first on a polo field in England in pre-war days, when we crossed our sticks and sometimes even our ponies. After the war began we met in the Middle East. This was in the darkest period of the war, after his gallant action on H.M.S. Kelly against overwhelming enemy aircraft—a historic fight depicted in the film “In Which We Serve”. Then as “Supremo” of the South-East Asia Command, we had the privilege of having him in India. The story of the battles in Burma waged under difficult monsoon and malarial conditions and of the daring initiative which was so well rewarded are known to all of you. When therefore in March this year Lord and Lady Mountbatten came to India they were welcomed as friends. There are many in our country who admire their qualities and have come under the influence of their charm and entertain for them sincere regard and affection.

Lord Mountbatten's services in our country during his tenure of office need no recounting. It is due largely to his statesmanship and vision that India achieved freedom by agreement between Britain and the Leaders in India—an event for which history affords no parallel. It was natural and fitting in the circumstances that free India should acclaim him as its first Governor-General under the new dispensation.

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As in the rest of India, so in the States, 15 August 1947 closed one chapter and opened another. I and my Government have always held the view that the best interests of States lie in willing co-operation with the rest of India in all matters of common concern. Jaipur was, therefore, among the earliest of the States to join the Constituent Assembly and the first to elect its representatives to that body. And, when in July the suggestion was made by His Excellency that States should establish constitutional relationship in the three subjects of Defence, External Affairs and Communications and executing Standstill Agreements on matters of common interest, I and my advisers were convinced that this would be to the advantage of the States as well as of the Dominion and readily agreed to do so. We are confident that, with increased mutual trust and understanding, the States will voluntarily forge closer links with the rest of India, so that Provinces and States as free and equal partners in a great enterprise, may undertake the vital tasks of reconstruction that lie ahead and enable this great country of ours to take its rightful place among the nations of the world.

Before concluding, I would like to pay the warmest tribute to the great work Her Excellency is doing for relief of distress and suffering in India. She has won universal esteem by her deep interest in these causes.

Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen, I request you to join me in drinking to the health of His Excellency Lord Mountbatten—a renowned Commander, a great gentleman, a proved statesman and above all to me a most esteemed and valued friend, and with it the health of Her Excellency the Countess Mountbatten.

State Banquet at Rambagh Palace, Jaipur

14 DECEMBER 1947

I NEED not say what a pleasure it is to us to be present at Jaipur on this very special occasion of the Silver Jubilee of His Highness, and also to have the opportunity of renewing friendships with so many of the Ruling Princes of India. We both made so many friends among Your Highnesses during our first visit to India in 1921, that we have always retained a very special affection and friendship for all the Princes.

I have always been a strong believer in the unity of India,

and I feel sure that the accession of the Indian States to the new Dominion of India cannot but be of advantage to both. The new Dominion of India and the States have many difficulties to face at the present time, and it is most important that each should give the other all possible support. It is, therefore, particularly gratifying to me that the Indian States decided to link their future with India, and I can assure you that their actions were deeply appreciated by the present Government of India. As was only to be expected, His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur, whose State in recent years has been well to the fore in all constitutional and administrative progress, was one of those Rulers who took a leading part in bringing about accession. I need hardly emphasise the stabilising effect which the accession of the Indian States to the Dominion of India has had; and this applies particularly to the Rajputana States in view of the strategic position which they occupy in India.

If I may speak for a moment on Jaipur State itself, I should like to say how much I personally and my Government appreciate the constitutional and administrative advances which have been made in recent years, and which I feel sure will continue. I think the best evidence of the good political atmosphere in the State is shown by the happy relations that exist everywhere between all sections of His Highness's subjects; the absence of disorders in the State during recent months is a striking tribute to the policy which His Highness's Government has pursued, and I have been particularly interested to see in the streets of Jaipur City the friendly intermingling of Hindus and Muslims.

On the administrative side, Jaipur has been a leading State for many years, and the fine new buildings which can be seen everywhere, the new University, the magnificent hospital, and the schools, reflect the greatest credit on His Highness, and the policy he and his Government have followed.

I have known His Highness intimately for many years, and as he has reminded you earlier, we often met on the polo field, but His Highness's activities have not been confined to the field of sport. He holds the unique privilege of having

served as an officer in His Majesty's Household Cavalry, and seen war service with the Life Guards. In addition, the Jaipur Guards' war service in Italy is well known to all of you here, and I shall never forget the pleasure I had in meeting this fine unit during my visit to Hongkong early in 1946.

Those of us who had the privilege of seeing the Jaipur Guards trooping the Colour will agree with me that it was worthy of the trooping of the Colour by any of the Regiments in His Majesty's Brigade of Guards on the Horse Guards Parade in London, and I should like to take this opportunity of saying how proud I was to have been invited to take the salute at this parade.

It was a particular pleasure to me to be able to invest His Highness with the Insignia of a Knight Grand Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India after his Durbar to-day. I regarded this as a fitting recognition of all that His Highness has accomplished during the twenty-five years he has been on the *gadi*. This honour was to have been among those announced in the final Indian Honours list before the transfer of power, dated 14 August 1947, but which, for administrative reasons, is going to be promulgated on 1 January 1948; but in view of His Highness's Silver Jubilee celebrations, His Majesty was pleased to approve that I should hold a special Investiture during these celebrations in the State. I am sure you will all be as pleased as I am at this honour and join me in congratulating His Highness most sincerely.

His Highness was kind enough to make some references to my wife's work, and I should like to thank him warmly on her behalf. My wife has a very keen interest and affection for India, and through all the troubles of the past few months, she has placed her knowledge and experience at the disposal of the United Council for Relief and Welfare. I am extremely proud of all that she has accomplished, and while thanking His Highness for his kind words, I hope I shall be forgiven for paying this small tribute to her myself.

In conclusion, may I thank Your Highness on behalf of my wife, my daughter, and myself for the friendly welcome

you have given us here, for your splendid hospitality, and all the arrangements which have been made for us during our visit. It has been a great joy to us to revisit Jaipur, and we shall always have the happiest recollections of the impressive celebrations of Your Highness's Silver Jubilee. May I say I look forward with equal pleasure to the Golden Jubilee celebrations in the years to come. Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to join with me in drinking the health of His Highness Maharaja Sawai Man Singh Bahadur of Jaipur.

Extempore Address to the Home Guards at Bombay

16 DECEMBER 1947

I MUST begin by apologising to your Commandant for breaking your ranks. I told him that I could not talk to men on parade in as friendly a way as when they were around me in a group. When I was in Burma the troops crowded around me when I talked to them—they used to cluster round me and this gave me the opportunity of seeing how they looked and also enabled them to have a closer look at me!

Now here in the Home Guards in Bombay you have started a very important movement. To begin with I congratulate you on the turn-out of the Home Guards on parade to-day. Your parade was in every way a great success and compares very well with the other Home Guard Parades that I have seen in England. It was not as good as that of the Regular Army because they have regular practice and hard work behind them. But as far as Home Guards are concerned this is well up to the standard, and I congratulate you on this.

I should like to say how very pleased I am that this parade should have taken place here on the Brabourne Stadium, because this Stadium is named after the father of the man who was my A.D.C. in South-East Asia and who is now my son-in-law, Lord Brabourne. Both my daughter and he are coming out to India very soon and will be joining us in Delhi on Saturday.

Now this Movement of the Home Guards is of great importance. I was delighted to hear that it is a non-communal force. I must admit that I made a mistake when I asked your Commandant yesterday whether he could tell me what proportion of the Home Guards were Muslims. He said, "We have quite a large number but we do not keep records of

communal proportions.” That’s the spirit which I would like to see throughout the country. Amongst us we still have something like four crores of Muslims even after the partition has taken place.

Now the important fact about the Home Guards is that it represents voluntary forces drawn from the civilian population of Bombay prepared to back up the forces of law and order. Some of you may be disappointed for not having been called out often in large numbers, but I hope you realise that one of the factors contributing to the admirable state of affairs in Bombay is the very existence of the Organisation. Some of you, I was told, were in the original A.R.P. Organisation that rendered yeoman service and help when the great dock explosion took place in Bombay in 1944. At that time I was deeply concerned by the extent with which the explosion had threatened to imperil the operations in the South-East Asia theatre of war. Looking back now, the explosion could not be regarded as altogether a tragedy considering the chance it gave for the Bombay docks to be rebuilt on far more efficient lines.

Well, I do not want to keep you long here. I just wanted to have a chance to see you, and to say thank you when your Commandant asked me to come here and inspect you. I once again congratulate you on the fine turn-out. I am sure that Bombay is moving on the right lines, and I am very happy in the knowledge that the type of men in the Home Guards is of a high class. I am sure many others would also like to come in. I wish you the very best of luck in your future, and many congratulations.

Speech by the Principal, Mr. C. A. Christie, at the
Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Robert Money
School Technical Department at Bombay

17 DECEMBER 1947

THIS day will go down as an epoch-making landmark in the history of this hundred-and-eleven-year-old School, for two outstanding reasons:

To-day, the first step in promoting technical education is being taken here thus making an important and radical departure from the traditional academic type of education which this School has been imparting for over a century; and, secondly, because it is a most auspicious event for the new Technical Department that its foundation stone is to be laid by Your Excellency, and this Institution, therefore, has the unique honour of your distinguished presence in our midst this morning. It is my proud privilege on behalf of the School and this gathering to extend to Your Excellency our most cordial welcome and to express our deep sense of gratitude for the special honour you have conferred upon this Institution by consenting to include this function among Your Excellency's numerous engagements during your short visit to our city.

I wish also to welcome most heartily Her Excellency Lady Mountbatten. Her distinguished presence here has added grace to this function and has made it an occasion of great joy for which I particularly wish to thank her.

Laying of the Foundation Stone of the New
Technical Department of the Robert Money
School at Bombay

17 DECEMBER 1947

WHEN I was asked a few months ago whether I would lay the foundation stone of this extension of the Robert Money School, I acceded to the request with much pleasure,

for the cause of education (and particularly technical education) is one which has always interested me intensely. I say this because most of my formative years were spent at the Royal Naval Colleges at Osborne and Dartmouth, where technical instruction is given in addition to ordinary scholastic subjects, and because in later years I found myself in charge of the technical wireless instruction of the Royal Navy.

Since I have been in India, I have in spite of my many preoccupations on political problems managed to find time to keep in touch with the Ministry of Education's plans for the future of education in India and have also visited and read reports of certain of the bigger schools. Whilst I have been much impressed with what I have seen and heard, it is clear to me that you cannot have too many facilities for education at the present time in a country like India. I have great confidence in the future of India, but what India needs at the present time in every walk of life is leaders, men who have been trained and educated not only in ordinary scholastic matters, but whose qualities of character and leadership have also been developed. It is here that schools such as yours can play such a prominent part.

But your School in its new rôle can play an even bigger part in the technical sphere.

One of the prominent needs of our educational system is to provide a more diversified type of instruction suited to different capacities and aptitudes. This is desirable even from the point of view of giving full opportunities for self-expression and development of personality. It becomes all the more imperative from the point of view of building up a balanced and progressive economy. In this regard the greatest lacuna so far has been the lack of facilities for technical education with the result that young men have been, more or less, forced to follow a uniform pattern of instruction clearly inadequate to the growing needs of the country.

It is therefore, all the more fitting that a school which has been a pioneer in the field of secondary education of the academic type should now show the way to others in the field of technical education, particularly as the number of technical

high schools in the country is small. I am told that although Bombay is one of the largest industrial centres in India, there are at present only two technical high schools in the city, and your School will therefore supply a badly felt need.

I have stressed the importance of technical education because I personally have probably received as much technical and scientific training and experience as a Naval Officer can. I spent over eight years as a wireless specialist serving continuously in wireless appointments. I have given many technical lectures and written technical handbooks on this subject for the sea-going fleet. This year I am President of the British Institution of Radio Engineers, and I qualified as an associate member of the Institute of Electrical Engineers more than twenty years ago, so I can assure you that I am not speaking about these matters with purely academic knowledge.

There is one final point which I want to make about the technical school. It can serve as a preparatory school for advanced technical training of the University standard and it can serve as a preparation for a career for those who have not the means to pursue their education any further.

The tendency at present among students is to regard a technical school merely as a stepping-stone to higher technical education and when it fails to enable them to obtain entry into the portals of an Engineering College, students are apt to blame the educational authorities. In fact, there is plenty of employment for young people who have had the kind of elementary training in mechanical and electrical engineering and other branches of technological studies that the technical school has to offer. As industries develop, this type of employment will increase. Young Indians of average means and ability who cannot afford University education will therefore do well to demand and avail themselves increasingly of these schools which in the long run are bound to play a very significant part in the industrialisation of the country.

I should like to endorse all that your Principal has said about the support which the Church Missionary Society has given in the conversion of this establishment into its new sphere as a technical school. I am sure that they will not

regret the change-over. I should also like to thank him most sincerely on behalf of my wife and myself for the very kind welcome he has given to us.

I shall now have great pleasure in laying the foundation stone.

Opening Ceremony of the Jivaji Industrial Research and Development Laboratory at Gwalior

28 DECEMBER 1947

It is a great pleasure to me to be asked by Your Highness to perform the opening ceremony of the Jivaji Industrial Research and Development Laboratory.

I do not suppose in this modern world that there are many these days who query the necessity for, and the value of, research and development. I personally am fully convinced of the need for research and experiment in all directions. In my own small way I have had some experience of this, because during my naval career I was a Technical Specialist in wireless communication. For a certain part of my time I was in the Experimental Establishments on shore and although I cannot pretend to have been concerned in all the later wireless developments such as radar, I saw enough to realise the necessity and value of our naval research and development work.

Here in India the Government as you know are planning large-scale industrial development and there should be a rapid change in the economy of the country when in particular the planned hydro-electric works are completed. It is the policy of the Government not only to promote rapid industrial development but to ensure that it is spread over the country as widely as is economically feasible. It is, therefore, very important that industrial development in States should be planned in such a way as to dovetail into the larger national plan, and my Government offer and invite in return co-operation to this end.

What applies to industrial development in general holds good, of course, with greater force regarding research, and

here the pooling of knowledge and experience is even more important. It is, however, essential to ensure that there is economy in effort. For this purpose the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research has been formed to ensure that individual schemes of research are drawn up in close collaboration with other organisations. I hope, therefore, that this Laboratory will remain in close touch with this Council. It is also very desirable that there should be a close liaison between research and industry to ensure that the value of research is applied as speedily as possible to industrial problems.

When I first visited Gwalior twenty-six years ago Your Highness's distinguished father was, as you have said, initiating progress in the State in the industrial field. I know he would have been proud to have seen the development of his ideas and the opening of this Laboratory. I congratulate Your Highness and your Government on the continued progress and foresight which are being shewn in Gwalior and which are exemplified by this fine building.

I am also pleased to hear that Your Highness's Government is making a fresh survey of the mineral resources of the State. As is well known India's mineral resources in power are limited. There is also an urgent need for gypsum for use in fertiliser and cement industries. The present survey therefore comes at a most appropriate time and will, I hope, have even more valuable results than the one carried out under the auspices of His late Highness.

As Your Highness has so fittingly said science can be a blessing to humanity by bringing peace and prosperity and raising the standard of life of the nation. This is the future to which we should look forward in India; this is the future to which this Laboratory can, and I am sure will, make a great contribution; and I wish it every success in the years ahead.

Speech by His Highness The Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior at a dinner at Gwalior

28 DECEMBER 1947

I DEEM it an honoured privilege, to-night, to offer Your Excellencies a hearty welcome to Gwalior—a welcome in which my Government and my people do most readily join. Two years have passed since H.E. Lord Wavell paid a visit to Gwalior, two years—which have verily changed the façade of India and our pleasure is greatly enhanced at the idea that this country, in bondage, chose in Your Excellency, the last of her Viceroys, the first of her Governors-General, while she was free.

For, who in this country is not familiar with Your Excellency's achievements during the last Great War as Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces on the Eastern Front and as Governor-General in this country. In war, equally as in peace, Your Excellency has been given to ride on the whirlwind and direct the storm. And if success is the test of merit, you have conducted all enterprises whether military or civil, political or social, and have left no room for fancy to divine greater perfection of accomplishment. I am quite sure that all the people in this country would gratefully remember the initiative, the imaginative vision and the inflexible determination with which Your Excellency has laboured tirelessly in the cause of India, and I have no doubt that you will grapple with problems, which still remain to be solved with an equal amount of success.

It would be inopportune for me to dwell at any length on the progress Gwalior has made during recent years in different spheres of administration. I may, however, mention in brief how the sands of time were utilised during the last eleven years since I assumed charge of the Government.

Education which is the pivot of all progress has received a very great share of attention by the Government. There are three Degree Colleges, several Technical Institutions, a Medical College, a Music College, a Forest Training School, an Agricultural School, a Montessori School and a well-equipped residential institution run on the lines of English Public Schools known as "Scindia School". Great care has been taken to associate primary education with manual training so that when boys grow up, they may, by sheer dint of their craft minimise the ranks of educated unemployed.

The State is having a network of medical institutions in which

Allopathic system of treatment has successfully worked in collaboration with the Ayurvedic and Unani systems in rural areas. I do hope that the Gajra Raja Medical College started two years ago and the Public Health Department started recently, are measures which would in due course of time go a long way to better the standard of medical relief in the State.

Among factors contributing to Gwalior's economic prosperity, agriculture has been and rightly so, one of the primary factors. Nature's gift to Gwalior in fertile soil is being utilised with the plough and the furrow and the Department of Agriculture in its varied branches—Experimental Farms, Agricultural Engineering, Demonstration and Propaganda—have done yeomen service to increase the efficiency of the agriculturist and better his produce. And the irrigation reservoirs and canals, constructed with a vast outlay, like Aoda, Harsi, Sank-Asan and Pagara works, coupled with the assistance rendered by the co-operative movement through over four thousand societies consisting of more than ninety thousand members have helped nature complete its work of progress and prosperity to the rural masses.

The imports and exports of Gwalior are to the tune of three crores of rupees approximately. The State owns over 700 miles of railways, has 2,200 miles of roads with an up-to-date bus service running throughout the State, and linking important centres outside, thus providing an easy and low cost of transport. The gradual but steady pace with which industries have come to be established in Gwalior would go a long way to raise the standard of living of the common man. Among industries which could be said to have been localised in Gwalior, mention may be made of Pottery, Leather, Textile, Sugar, Cement, Glass, Paints, Chemicals, Starch, Tobacco, Oils, Carpet and Match. The equipping of an up-to-date Research Laboratory, the starting of a separate department of Industrial Planning and Development, and an economic and mineral survey of the State, under expert guidance, are steps undertaken to explore untapped sources of industrialisation.

The question of introducing Constitutional reforms in the State has always engaged my careful consideration. Soon after I took up the reins of Government, the Majlis-i-Am and the Majlis-i-Qanoon which were set up in the twenties of this century by my late revered father were in 1939, replaced by a bicameral legislature with a majority of elected members in the Lower House and the Upper House with half of its members elected. This was supplemented by my announcement in 1941 whereby the strength, functions and powers of the Legislature were enhanced appreciably. But unfortunately this task so well begun could not be accomplished as scheduled due to the emergent conditions created by the devastating carnage, which in its wake engulfed the human race in its entirety.

During the long drawn out war which was fought for six long years, Gwalior's efforts, like those of the whole civilised world were mainly directed towards its successful prosecution which culminated in the triumph of the righteous cause of the Allied nations. The State troops rendered their services in different theatres of war and the monetary contribution totalled nearly three and a quarter crores of rupees. I am deeply indebted for the spontaneous response I have always received from my people and the officers and men of my forces to my appeals during that grim struggle and various organisations, official and public, extended their whole-hearted co-operation in making Gwalior's war efforts a great success.

It was due mainly to the exigencies created by the war that elections to the reformed Legislature were considerably delayed and when, in July 1946, the new Legislature met, the goal of my Government as the establishment of responsible Government under the ægis of the Ruler was announced on the floor of the House.

The march of events since the arrival of Your Excellency on the Indian political scene has been spectacular. What the country had seen in generations during former Viceroyalties, we have seen in months during Your Excellency's régime. The Gordian knot of our political problems which was an enigma to everybody until 1946 in spite of best efforts was unfastened by Your Excellency in a few months.

Partition of India involved problems of gigantic magnitude and if they were solved so swiftly, the credit goes entirely to Your Excellency's far-sighted statesmanship. There is no denying the fact that but for the unremitting attention which Your Excellency bestowed on them a number of intricate questions connected with the division of the country would have simply baffled solution.

India is to-day a free country. We have to be grateful to Great Britain that she has handed over power to India with complete goodwill so that relations between the two countries remain extremely cordial. It is my deep conviction that continuance of alliance with England is to India's great benefit and I sincerely hope that our statesmen when deciding the final form of the country's constitution will take a realistic view of the factors that merit consideration.

India is to-day free but freedom has brought about in its wake tremendous problems of reconstruction. Not only have standards of education and public health to be raised but vast schemes of agricultural development, irrigation and means of transport must be formulated and given a practical shape; and creation of new industries and development of trade and commerce on sound lines should be handled with apt care if the appalling poverty confronting our masses has to be eradicated and if we are to achieve success with regard to the raising of the standard of living of our people as a whole.

Freedom is not a goal in itself. It is a means to enable the people of a country to live as best as their genius can contrive. It is therefore necessary that our countrymen now direct their whole-hearted energies to this essential and elementary task of an all-round reconstruction.

Before I conclude, I cannot help making a brief reference to the splendid services rendered by Her Excellency in these distressed times. Her radiant record of service during the last great war as Superintendent-in-Chief of the St. John Ambulance in which capacity she had to travel far and wide, even in dangerous war zones, her excellent organising capacity, her active interest in schemes for the uplift of the medical and nursing services of India and her tireless work with the poor and afflicted refugees have enshrined her in the heart of every Indian.

And now, let me request you, Ladies and Gentlemen to join with me in drinking the health of Their Excellencies Earl and Countess Mountbatten of Burma.

Dinner at Jai Vilas Palace, Gwalior

28 DECEMBER 1947

I THANK Your Highness most warmly for the very cordial welcome accorded to us by Your Highness. It was indeed with great pleasure that we had looked forward to our visit to Gwalior.

I have the happiest memories of my first visit to Gwalior twenty-six years ago when I had the privilege of staying with His late Highness and of meeting Your Highness and your sister. I have never forgotten how smart you both were in perfect miniature uniforms of the Gwalior State Forces.

Gwalior is indeed fortunate in having in Your Highness a Ruler who has devoted himself to the task of efficient, enlightened and progressive administration. The State has been blessed by nature with a large and fertile area; and Your Highness's Government has I know endeavoured ceaselessly to get the best out of the land by building new irrigation schemes, introducing improved methods of agriculture

and better organisation. Nor does the State lag behind in industrial development. The impressive list of industries established in the State, mentioned by Your Highness, is an indication of the success of the efforts made by you and your Government to ensure that Gwalior keeps pace with the rest of the country in this direction. In other fields of administration, too, the State has been making rapid progress: side by side with administrative efficiency, Your Highness has also initiated measures of constitutional reform and has already announced your intention of establishing responsible Government.

I am grateful to Your Highness for referring in such generous terms to what I have been able to do in the cause of the freedom of the country. I know that the steps which led up to the freedom of the country were put through with great speed and efficiency, but all this was possible because of the unstinted co-operation which I received from all alike.

I have particular personal reasons to be grateful to Your Highness and your Government, for when I was appointed Supreme Allied Commander, South-East Asia, in August 1943 the first thing I did was to arrange with the late Major-General Wingate, at the Quebec Conference for a special Long Range Penetration Force to be set up, to operate behind the Japanese lines.

The Hotel de Gwalior and the State Fair Grounds were generously placed at General Wingate's disposal for the Headquarters of this gallant force. The Commander-in-Chief of Your Highness's State Forces loaned transport and made ranges, etc., available for training. The old polo ground was lent as a Light Plane strip and I visited the airfield at Maharajpore where the Vengeance Squadron was being trained in co-operation duties with the force. The great success they achieved was in no small part due to the help we received from Your Highness.

Independence has brought with it new tasks, new problems of great magnitude, but we have proved ourselves equal to them. The States as well as the rest of India have presented a united front in facing these new difficulties and the result

has been that we have been able to do a great deal and in a shorter time than at one time would have seemed possible. I have always considered that the accession of the States to the Dominion of India would prove a great source of strength to both; and these months of trial and difficulty have fully justified my belief. It is with great pleasure that I recall that Gwalior State took a leading part in the negotiations which so happily resulted in the accession of the Indian States. I have always been a believer in the unity of India. In all aspects of the national life, whether we take defence, agriculture, industry or the national economy, unity is the most essential prerequisite of progress.

I think, if I may say so, that the Rulers of India took a most wise and statesmanlike decision when they made up their mind to accede to the Dominion; and I am sure that its beneficial consequences will soon begin to show themselves when India devotes her energies—as she will soon have to—to her urgent problems of economic and industrial reconstruction.

I thank Your Highness for the warm tribute which you have paid to the services which my wife has been able to render in this country.

Her Highness's personal interest in the education, health and general welfare activities in the State are well known and have greatly contributed to progress in these directions.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to join with me in drinking to the health of His Highness the Maharaja George Jivaji Rao Scindia and in wishing all prosperity to him and the State.

Speech of The High Commissioner for Burma, U Win, at the Flag-Hoisting Ceremony at New Delhi on Burma's Independence Day

4 JANUARY 1948

WE are gathered here to-day to commemorate the Burmese Independence. I should like to explain the meaning of the flag we are now hoisting. It has the red background with the sky-blue colour and five small stars with one large star in the centre. The small stars represent the races inhabiting Burma and the large star on red background is the revolutionary banner under which the people of Burma fought against Fascism and for freedom. We have stars on our flag to denote our undeviating purpose and ceaseless progress just as the stars in the firmament. You all must realise what this occasion must mean to us. It is the consummation of all our efforts and sufferings during the past century. It is a terrible experience for a nation to lose its independence. Yet once it emerges from the nightmarish experience it emerges strong and vigorous just as a man who survives fatal sickness. Either a nation perishes while in servitude or rises up with its stamina reinforced by the struggle for its survival. A rejuvenated nation like ours is an asset to the world. We have optimism which an ordinary nation lacks in the present disillusioned world. We have not yet forgotten our own sufferings to be out of sympathy with the nations that are struggling for justice in the world. For one thing Burma is fortunate in achieving independence without an armed conflict and this remarkable achievement is due to the common desire for freedom and the united effort of all the races of Burma and the chivalry and political wisdom of the British people. We are a nation with a glorious past and before our contact with the West our influence had extended greatly beyond the present boundary. We have kept alive the true teachings of Buddha through all the vicissitudes of history. Our art and literature bear the healthy imprints of the influence of the neighbouring nations and at the same time preserving their distinct individuality and national character. However, when we come to the modern world we stand a young nation with the will and capacity to learn. While the world was forging ahead in commerce and science developing wonderful techniques and making important discoveries we have sat in our servitude and watched from the gallery. Now we are also entering the world's arena. We will avail ourselves of the opportunities our newly-found

freedom will provide us. We look to all friendly nations to provide us with all facilities at their command. Our ideal is to work for the weal of the common man in Burma in accordance with the true democratic principles. In the international sphere we will give whole-hearted support to the cause of lasting peace in the world. I take this opportunity of extending the hand of friendship of the Republic of the Union of Burma to all sister nations of the world. In particular at this auspicious hour we remember the Indian brethren who have strived for freedom shoulder to shoulder with us and who have given us so much material and spiritual aid all along. We firmly believe that the close and cordial relations which exist between India and Burma will continue for ever and the cultural and economic ties that have bound the two countries through the centuries will be strengthened as a result of the free intercourse as between two independent countries.

Flag-Hoisting Ceremony at the Burmese Embassy, New Delhi, on Burma Independence Day

4 JANUARY 1948

I AM very glad to have had the opportunity of being present on this unique occasion and of being privileged to say a few words. The Ambassador-designate has explained the meaning of the flag which is now flying and, as ex-Commander of the South-East Asia Command I can probably appreciate its significance better than most people here. I have made many friends during my time as Military Commander in Burma and for their sakes I am glad to see the achievement of all for which they have struggled.

It is not my intention to make a long speech on this occasion, as I shall be speaking again shortly in Government House, but I wish all my Burmese friends present the best of good fortune to their country in the years to come.

Burmese Independence Day Ceremony at Government House, New Delhi

4 JANUARY 1948

THIS, as you all know, is Burma's Independence Day. I am glad it has followed so soon on our own Independence Day here.

For the last four years I have taken a close and continuous interest in Burmese affairs and so have developed a real affection for the country and its people. With the formation of the South-East Asia Command, I was given full responsibility for the administration of the ever-increasing area of Burma from which we were evicting the Japanese. I was virtually the Military Governor of Burma throughout the campaigns leading to the final liberation of Burmese territory, and during the first few difficult months of transition from war to peace.

During those twenty-one months there can have been few parts of the country I did not see—from north to south and east to west. I was shocked and grieved at the state I found the country in. The whole of Burma had been a battlefield twice in three years and the devastation everywhere was unspeakable. In fact, I found Mandalay, that lovely city of the Kings, which had so thrilled me on my first visit in 1922, almost unrecognisable when I entered it again in April 1945. Since then the country has made brave strides towards recovery. I have been kept in the Burmese picture by my friend, the Governor, Major-General Sir Hubert Rance, who did splendid work as my Chief Civil Affairs Officer for Burma while I was Supreme Allied Commander. I was glad to hear from the Prime Minister of Burma, Thakin Nu, on his recent visit, how much beloved General Rance had become.

I should like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to

the memory of General Aung San. Here was a young Burmese patriot, whose burning desire, I am sincerely convinced, was at all times that his country should be free, and this was the reason why he placed himself and his Burmese Patriot Forces under my Command to fight alongside the British and Indian Forces against the Japanese during the final months of the war. The assistance which he and his forces gave to our advancing army was most welcome, and after the successful liberation of the country he showed statesmanship of a high order. The many meetings I had with him, both in Rangoon and at my Headquarters in Kandy, convinced me that here was a man who would prove a great leader of the people and I hoped that he would be spared to guide the destiny of Burma for many years to come. His dastardly murder was indeed a shocking loss.

With my close connections with the country, whose name I have the honour to bear in my title, I was most anxious that this great day should be marked in some special way. I felt that a symbolic gift should be given by India to Burma.

The Mandalay Hludaw throne, last used by King Theebaw of Burma when he visited the Hludaw, that is the Burmese High Court in Mandalay, is now in the Indian Museum at Calcutta. The throne is a towering structure of teakwood, richly gilt and is a replica of the famous Lion Throne of King Theebaw which used to stand in the great Hall of Audience in the Palace of Mandalay, now, alas, burnt to the ground.

When I visited London recently, I consulted the King who was very glad to agree to the proposal of the Government of India that this throne should be presented to the people of Burma on the occasion of their independence. The throne itself is too large and imposing a structure to be brought here first; it will have to be dismantled and packed carefully and sent direct to Rangoon.

I am glad to say that I hope it may be possible for me to accept the invitation of the Prime Minister of Burma to visit the country in March in which event I shall look forward to presenting the Throne personally at that time.

But fortunately in Government House, Calcutta, there

was at the west end of the throne room a small Taktaposh, which also belonged to King Theebaw and was taken from the Palace at Mandalay in the Third Burmese War of 1885. This is the Taktaposh which you now see before you and which I am presenting to the people of Burma through the Burmese Ambassador on behalf of His Majesty and of the Government and people of India, in addition to and in advance of the throne now in Calcutta. In presenting this throne and Taktaposh may I say that they come with the warmest wishes and goodwill of all of us in India, and with them go our fervent hope and firm belief that Burma will enjoy the fruits of peace and freedom in the years to come.

Speech by His Highness The Maharaja of Bikaner at a Durbar at Lalgah Palace, Bikaner

15 JANUARY 1948

I HAD intended making this speech towards the end of Their Excellencies' visit at a State Banquet in their honour, but the State Banquet as such has been cancelled because of the fast which Mahatma Gandhi has started in the noble cause of communal unity—a cause which everyone of us should consider as his own. We devoutly hope and pray that the response to it would be such as to enable him soon to break the fast.

It affords me and all my people the greatest pleasure to extend a most hearty and cordial welcome to Their Excellencies the Earl and Countess Mountbatten of Burma to my State. Our pleasure is all the more enhanced by the presence in our midst of Their Excellencies' two daughters, the Lady Brabourne and the Lady Pamela Mountbatten, and their son-in-law, the Lord Brabourne. We are exceedingly happy to have His Excellency here, not only as the Governor-General of the great Dominion of India to which my State has acceded, but in his personal capacity as one of the most distinguished personalities of our day and one whom I have had the privilege of knowing and whose friendship I have cherished from the days of my boyhood. To have him and his illustrious consort here to-day among us is therefore a source of unalloyed pleasure for me and everyone in Bikaner.

Lord Mountbatten has many claims to the gratitude of all Indians. Of the truly great part played by him in the historic events that preceded the achievement of Indian independence on the 15th of August, it is unnecessary for me to speak. But it may well be stated that without the clearness of vision, urgency of purpose and firm sense of decision that he brought to bear on the problem, the transfer of authority would have been neither so peaceful nor so easy. The sense of confidence that his personality and transparent sincerity evoked is best testified by the unique honour that the people of India paid him by inviting him to be free India's first Governor-General. How amply that confidence has been repaid and how greatly India has benefited by having at its head a statesman of such world-wide repute and a member of the British Royal Family is known to all of you.

Lord Mountbatten's interest in the Princes and States of India

has been deep and continuous. It was through his good offices and his sympathetic understanding of our problems that all the States with the exception of Hyderabad acceded to the Dominion of India. In the case of Hyderabad also, the present agreement, which has stabilised what was indeed a most difficult situation was largely the outcome of his tactful handling of the problem. As is but befitting a member of the first Royal Family in the world, Lord Mountbatten's unfailing interest in the maintenance of the dignity, privileges and rights of Indian Rulers has been of invaluable help to us.

It is just over nine months since Lord Mountbatten arrived in India, charged by His Majesty the King and by the British Government to effectuate the promise of an early transfer of power to India. When we survey the events of these historic nine months, surely one of the most momentous and most crowded periods in the annals of this ancient land, we cannot but stand amazed at the courage, vision, faith and firmness, with which so tremendous a problem as the withdrawal of British Power from a sub-continent, where it had held unquestioned sway for a hundred and fifty years, has been effected within the inconceivably short period of four months. It was not merely the transfer of power to India that Lord Mountbatten had to his achievement, but the peaceful secession of the Pakistan Provinces, and the birth of two new independent States, each with the full paraphernalia of national sovereignty. So great and heavy a responsibility has fallen on few people in history, and fewer still, if any, have been able to achieve unqualified success in so herculean a task.

A born sailor, Lord Mountbatten had a distinguished career in the Navy in various difficult roles. Four times was he blown up by mine, torpedo and bomb and once was his destroyer sunk, and happily he survived, only to be called to greater responsibilities soon afterwards. As Chief of Combined Operations and later as Supreme Allied Commander, South-East Asia, in the crucial stages of the struggle, the consummate skill with which he directed the operations in Burma speedily changed the course of the war. To those who knew Lord Mountbatten as a commander of exceptional genius, a naval commander in the tradition of Nelson, his achievements in the field of statesmanship may have come as a surprise. In the long roll of history it is only a very select few who combine these rare qualities, and by what he has done in India, Lord Mountbatten has joined that select band of men, great in the art of war, no less than of peace, of men like Cæsar, Frederick the Great and Napoleon, of whom the world has found it difficult to judge whether their qualities as statesmen in peace excelled their unique gifts as leaders in war.

As the first constitutional Governor-General of India, Lord

Mountbatten is above the controversies of politics; but with every day that passes it is becoming more and more clear that Lord Mountbatten and his illustrious partner in life have endeared themselves to the people of India in a manner which few would have thought possible.

One of the units of my Army, the Bijey Battery, had the privilege of serving in the Forces which were under the Supreme Command of Lord Mountbatten in South-East Asia. My Army is therefore proud to have been associated with him, and Lord Mountbatten with his usual solicitude and interest for those who have served under him, is doing me and my Army the honour of taking the Salute at to-morrow morning's Review, for which we thank him most sincerely.

I have alluded to my life-long friendship with Lord Mountbatten. It was when he and I were no more than children playing with toys that we were thrown together and, if I may say so, the affection and friendship that have happily developed between us have only increased with years. I have no doubt that whatever the political relations of our country with England, and I myself feel confident that they will be of the most intimate character, our personal friendship will continue to the end of our lives.

Of the charming and gracious lady who has shared with Lord Mountbatten the worries and responsibilities of his great office it is indeed difficult to speak in terms of moderation. Who in India was not deeply moved by the heroic spirit which took her in the blazing month of May to Rawalpindi and Multan to bring comfort and consolation to the suffering women and children of those places? Who again can forget the selfless devotion with which she served the refugees in Delhi during the days when the capital of India was in the grip of a terrible communal upheaval? Lady Mountbatten's name has become a household word in this country, not because of her high position or rank, nor because of formal association with public institutions, but by the devotion, sacrifice and uncanny understanding, with which she has served suffering humanity in India.

I had cherished the hope that before our formal connection with the Crown of England ceased on the 15 August, Lord Mountbatten might be able to visit Bikaner in his capacity as the Crown Representative. That hope unfortunately could not be realised. But I may take this opportunity to give expression to the deep sense of gratitude which I and my House feel to the Crown of England, for the protection it afforded and the help and assistance it rendered to us for over a century and a quarter. The treaty of friendship and alliance between the British Crown and my House was negotiated in 1818. It was the sheet anchor of my State for a period of 129 years. During that long stretch of time we have been the recipients of many gracious acts of kindness and consideration not only from successive

monarchs from Queen Victoria, but also from the other members of the Royal Family. For a period of forty years my own father of revered memory had the honour of being on the staff, first of the Prince of Wales and afterwards of three successive Sovereigns. Though the political connection has now ceased, with India attaining her independence, I may be permitted to say that I and my House cherish the warmest feelings of attachment and devotion towards His Majesty the King. May I request Your Excellency to be good enough to convey these sentiments of myself and the members of my family to His Majesty whom we had always called our beloved King-Emperor and which had become a household word with us? May I also request you to submit to His Majesty how honoured I feel at the further mark of favour so graciously shown to me by the conferment of the Order of the Star of India, with the insignia of which Your Excellency has just been good enough to invest me?

I will conclude by wishing from the bottom of my heart long life, every happiness and prosperity to His Excellency the Earl Mountbatten of Burma, Governor-General of India, and Her Excellency the Countess Mountbatten.

Speech at a Durbar at Lalgarh Palace, Bikaner

15 JANUARY 1948

I AM particularly pleased to have the opportunity of speaking on this occasion, not only because I want to thank His Highness at once for the very kind way he has spoken of my wife and myself, but because I have long wanted to pay a tribute to that worthy successor of a great father, the present Ruler of Bikaner.

I am speaking in rather different circumstances from those which I had envisaged in the first instance, and I cannot open this speech without a reference to Mahatma Gandhi and the fast which he is now undertaking in Delhi. I am sure we all appreciate and deeply sympathise with the high motives which have led him to undertake this fast and we much hope that it will be successful in its object at as early a date as possible.

The problem of how to transfer power from British to

Indian hands divided itself very obviously into two separate problems. The first was how to transfer power to British India, and the second was how to fit the Indian States into the resulting pattern.

I need not dilate here on the importance of the position which the Indian States have always occupied in the life of India. They cannot be treated separately from the rest of India for the States are completely interlocked with the Provinces, with whose inhabitants the people of the States inevitably form an overall entity.

This basic fact has clearly been realised by the Rulers themselves, for in the past they were always ready to co-operate with the Government of India in common plans and policies. It was the object of the Federation Scheme, contained in that remarkable Government of India Act of 1935, to replace this somewhat haphazard co-operation by a legal structure of unity in essential matters. I know that this federal plan of 1935 was popular neither with the States nor the political parties; but personally I cannot help feeling that it was a great misfortune that circumstances did not permit of that plan being put into operation before the outbreak of war in 1939. Had this been possible, a suitable political structure would have been in existence in India during the difficult years of the war, and it is very possible that the events in the country in recent years might have proceeded on entirely different lines. I have no doubt that this will be the verdict of history.

Only two years elapsed between the defeat of Japan on the 15 August 1945 and the transfer of power on the 15 August 1947; but in those two years events moved at an ever-increasing pace. Almost the first official interview I had on my arrival last March was with the Maharaja of Bikaner; and the wise, co-operative and helpful attitude he then displayed gave me a new confidence that the problem of fitting the States into the future free India was capable of a quick and satisfactory solution.

His Highness was the first Ruler who realised the part which the Princes could play in the future by sending repre-

sentatives to the Constituent Assembly to help frame the new constitution of India. Likewise His Highness was the first Ruler to support my proposals for obtaining the accession of the States to their neighbouring Dominion.

It must be remembered that on the day of transfer of power the tie that previously held the States to British India was removed; for that tie had depended on the paramountcy of the British Crown. On that day I gave up two entirely separate functions, namely that of Viceroy and that of Crown Representative. In the first capacity I dealt with British India; in the second, with the States; and it was the fact that both these offices were always held by one and the same man that had really linked the States with British India. With the disappearance of both these offices, India was in imminent danger of fragmentation. Fortunately both the political leaders of British India and the Rulers of the States in general recognised that their common security and welfare depended upon the establishment of a strong modern India, to whom the States could accede.

The fact that I was compelled to transfer power to two separate Dominions did not invalidate this principle. Following on negotiations in July, some 550 out of the 565 Indian States acceded to the Dominion of India on the transfer of power. The remaining States (except for Hyderabad with whom a separate standstill agreement was concluded) acceded to Pakistan.

In negotiations like these, their success turns very largely upon the quality and nature of the example and advice which is given; the statesmanship and patriotism displayed by the Maharaja of Bikaner in giving a lead in announcing his accession to the Dominion of India, without a moment of doubt or suspicion, cannot therefore be praised too highly.

My Government have been particularly appreciative of His Highness's statesmanlike actions, and I am more than delighted that His Majesty the King, in view of these actions as well as the past record of His Highness was pleased to make him a Knight Grand Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India. You can imagine what a pleasure

it has been to me to have been the one privileged to invest His Highness with the Insignia of this Order.

It was not on the question of accession alone that the true quality of His Highness's statesmanship has been revealed. The attainment of independence by India was followed by dark days when even normally sane and healthy minds lost their poise. From the Punjab, where the trouble started, the conflagration threatened to spread all over the country. The immediate task was to localise the danger and to keep from contamination the parts of India which were not yet affected. I know that I am voicing the feelings of my Government when I say how very grateful we are for His Highness's assistance and example in restraining mob violence. When the mass migrations started, colossal convoys of refugees had to pass through Bikaner, and it is a tribute to the strength and efficiency of the State's administration that these convoys passed through in safety with adequate water and food. I am very glad to have this opportunity of acknowledging His Highness's magnificent contribution and assistance in the repatriation of these refugees.

But good administration does not lie alone in the adoption of wise and inspired policies in moments of crisis. It consists also in good and sound day-to-day government in all things which affect the daily life of the people. It has given me great pleasure to hear of the many steps which have been taken in Bikaner to stimulate agriculture and afforestation and to obtain for the State the benefits of modern technical methods. Bikaner, I understand, is a participant in the Bhakra dam project and expects to derive considerable advantage from its completion. I have no doubt that the adoption of progressive measures in matters like this is as important as the modernisation of government according to democratic principles, for in the last resort, in the conditions of the modern world, no State can expect to stand alone and survive which has not in itself sufficient resources, material and moral, to assure to its people the essential conditions of modern civilised existence.

His Highness has also taken a keen interest in constitutional reforms in his State and here again he was one of the

first to announce his intentions. It is clear that progress in this direction cannot be regulated by any set standard. What should be aimed at is to evolve a scheme suitable to the particular State and in conformity with the wishes of the people. I understand that the constitutional reforms initiated by His Highness fulfil this test and I wish them all success, because in the contentment of the people lies the security of the State and its Ruler.

As the late Supreme Allied Commander, South-East Asia, it will be a particular pleasure to me to see the State Forces on parade to-morrow morning. His Highness has referred to the Bikaner Bijey Battery, which served under my command on the Burma front, and I should like to pay a tribute here to the high standards they achieved and the credit which they brought to His Highness and the State.

I should also like to express my gratitude to His Highness for placing Bikaner House in Delhi at the disposal, through the Government of India, of the South-East Asia Command. It was used as a mess for senior allied officers of the rank of Brigadier and above of my Rear-Headquarters.

As His Highness has reminded you in his speech, he and I have been lifelong friends; for we first met when his father was visiting my family forty years ago, when he was five and I was seven. We met again at the Coronation of King George V, in 1911, and ten years later we served together on the staff of the Prince of Wales during His Royal Highness's visit to India. It was then that I paid my first visit, more than twenty-six years ago, to Bikaner; a visit which I am sorry to say there was no opportunity to repeat until 1945.

Finally, may I once more express the deep appreciation of my wife and myself for the kind way in which His Highness has referred to us, and to thank him for the magnificent welcome and the splendid hospitality which he has given to my family here.

Extempore Address at Presentation of Colours to the Central Provinces and Berar Home Guards

26 JANUARY 1948

I AM very glad to have the opportunity of presenting the Colours to the Home Guards of the Central Provinces and Berar. I count myself as very fortunate that my visit to Nagpur should have coincided with the end of the first training phase of your Home Guards; and so it has been possible for me to take part in this very historic ceremony to-day.

I have seen a number of parades held by Home Guards in various parts of the United Kingdom and of India, and I have no hesitation in saying that I have not seen a smarter parade than the parade here to-day. You will notice that I have compared this parade to other parades of Home Guards. It would not be fair or right to draw a comparison with parades of the regular Army of India, because if it were possible, in two or three short months to train volunteers to be quite as smart and quite as professional as the forces of the regular Indian Army who are trained for years, it would be a grave reflection on the regular Army of India.

The Home Guards were first formed during the dark days of 1940, when France had been overrun by the Fascist hordes of Hitler and when the British Army was withdrawing from Dunkirk, before landing in Normandy four years later. When the risks of actual invasion were upon us Home Guards were formed everywhere. In the course of the years of war a great army grew up which took its place alongside the regular Army.

Here, in India, I pray that you will never have the risk that your sub-continent will be overrun by a foreign aggressor. But the Home Guards can play here, just as vital a part as in

the United Kingdom, because there is all the risk of turmoil and unrest, although the Central Provinces and Berar have been wonderfully free of the trouble which has affected other parts of India.

The spirit of the Home Guards has made it possible for ordinary citizens to come out and volunteer to aid the police and the regular forces to maintain law and order. It is very good to have such a spirit, for the safeguarding of peace and of law and order throughout the Central Provinces and Berar. And so, all of you, who join the Home Guards carry out a valuable service not only to your home province but to the country as a whole. All of us believe that India has a great and glorious future in front of her. Each of you who join the Home Guards are contributing to make that future great and glorious.

Address of Welcome presented at Nagpur

26 JANUARY 1948

It is with great pleasure that I welcome to-day Your Excellency and your noble spouse on behalf of the citizens of the capital of the Central Provinces and Berar, where the confluence of the many streams of Indian culture as well as its geographical position make the city truly a centre of the Union of India.

In the history of the world, it is usual for the conquerors to vacate the lands of their occupation as soon as the freedom's battle is won and their course is run. It also happens sometimes—as happened in the case of the victory of Rome over Greece—that the vanquished become the cultural conquerors of the victors. Rarely, however, has it happened that at the end of the freedom's battle, the freed nation itself has, of its own free choice, selected the last representative of the conquering race in the land to be also the first head of their free State. Such selection has, however, been our privilege and your honour. It was at a time when the political sky of India was covered with dark and threatening clouds that you agreed to accept, at much personal inconvenience and even risk to your great reputation, the short-lived Viceroyalty of India. This was more as a response to the call of duty than as a prize for your great services during the war. You are now as Governor-General of India both the formal representative of England and the actual representative of the millions of the free India. And that honour scintillates in the glory with which you covered yourself by the statesmanship displayed by you in guiding the entry of the chained India into the comity of the free nations of the world.

We have been passing recently through the birth-pangs of our new freedom. It is to relieve us from these sufferings that that most precious living gift of Providence to modern India, Mahatma Gandhi, took upon himself the physical tortures of his latest fast the successful termination of which, in the midst of world-wide thanksgiving and prayer, will, I am confident, pour fresh blood into the veins of our body politic and raise the moral stature of India in the world.

We regard it as a great honour to have you in our midst as an honoured servant of this oldest as well as youngest of the nations of the world. In war as well as in peace, on the sea as well as on the land, on the battlefield as well as in the Council Chamber, in the

bound India of yesterday as well as in the free India of to-day, the keenness of your insight as well as your sincerity of purpose will stand out prominently for generations to come. We pay you, Lord Mountbatten, our sincere homage on this occasion and convey to you and your worthy consort, our warmest good wishes for your future. You are rendering devoted service to the cause of the mother India and we are all confident that your unique position as a golden link between two great democracies of the East and West will also enable you, with your great influence, insight and sincerity of purpose, to spread and realise the message of world peace which has ever been so dear to the heart of India.

Reply to Address of Welcome presented at Nagpur

26 JANUARY 1948

I NEED hardly say how appreciative my wife and I are of the very kind and, I must honestly admit, far too flattering words of praise and welcome with which you have greeted us.

If we have been able to be of some service to India, it is because we have enjoyed being among you and we have received such kindness and friendliness everywhere that it would have been out of the question not to give our very best in return to help in strengthening and building up the free India of the future.

You, Pandit Dube, have referred in striking phrases to the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, and the recent fast he undertook in Delhi.

I believe I was the first person with whom he discussed his intended fast, immediately after he had announced it at his prayer meeting and fifteen hours before it was due to start: I naturally congratulated him on his courageous decision.

I did so because although I fully appreciated the risk to his life, I felt that only by a bold step of this nature could men be brought to see the abyss into which they were drifting.

I am sure that communalism is really foreign to the

Indian way of life with its freedom of thought and religion; and until sanity and tolerance are once again brought to every part of this country we shall never see the strong, united India we all want to see, taking her rightful place among the nations.

In conclusion, may I say what a pleasure it is to my wife and me to be visiting this city which I last saw twenty-six years ago when I came here on the Prince of Wales' staff. Our stay here is, I regret to say, short, but I want to see all the Provinces of India and many of the larger States before I leave the country finally, and time is getting short.

So I fear, much as we would wish to, we cannot spend long in each place. I should like to thank you once again for your very kind welcome to us and to wish you all the best of good fortune in the future.

Speech by Diwan Bahadur Seth Gopaldas Mohta,
President of the Central Provinces and Berar Chamber
of Commerce at a Dinner at Nagpur

26 JANUARY 1948

It is with the greatest pleasure that I, on behalf of the Central Provinces and Berar Chamber of Commerce, accord Your Excellency a most cordial welcome. We feel greatly honoured by your presence here tonight. It is rarely that a person renowned in the arts of war exhibits great qualities of constructive statesmanship in the piping times of peace. But you, Sir, have won lasting fame both as a warrior and as a statesman. As the last Viceroy of India, you made a supreme and successful effort to solve the Indo-British problem. The vigour, drive and directness of purpose which you had shown as Supreme Commander in South-East Asia were exhibited by you in handling the most complicated Indian problem. It was largely due to Your Excellency's efforts that India attained her independence some months earlier than was originally scheduled. The Congress has conferred on you the greatest honour by inviting you to be Free India's first Governor-General. It is a tribute to Your Excellency's statesmanship, sincerity of purpose and goodwill towards India that you have won the confidence of the Indian people within the short period of your stay in our country. No Englishman could ask for a greater mark of confidence from a liberated people. A year ago, the relations between India and Britain were greatly strained. But since the historic day of India's Independence, the memories of the past were forgotten and a new era in the history of Indo-British relations began. Your Excellency has been a true builder of Indo-British amity and cordiality. Whether India ultimately decides to remain within the British Commonwealth or to go out of it, a lasting friendship between these two countries is necessary for the maintenance of world peace and security. None of us liked the partition of India but our national leaders accepted it as a lesser evil. But partition has brought in its wake manifold problems. No Government in the history of the world was ever called upon to deal with mass movement of population on such a gigantic scale. Under the inspiration of the Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, our beloved Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and his able and patriotic colleagues are tackling these problems successfully. In this great task, they have received unstinted support and guidance from Your

Excellency. I wish to pay a tribute to Her Excellency the Countess for her untiring humanitarian work. The noble part played by Your Excellency in hastening the liberation of India will long be cherished by the Indian people.

Gentlemen, let us toast His Excellency the Governor-General of India, Earl Mountbatten of Burma.

Extempore Speech at the Dinner held by the Central Provinces and Berar Chamber of Commerce, Nagpur

26 JANUARY 1948

I SHOULD like to thank the President and the Members of the Chamber of Commerce of the Central Provinces and Berar for inviting me and so many other guests to attend this dinner to-day. I should like to thank you, Mr. President, for the very kind things that you have said about me. I must reiterate, as I did at the Public Reception this evening, that they are really too flattering and largely undeserved. That does not mean that I do not appreciate the very kind things you have said, any the less.

I am particularly glad to have had the opportunity of coming here to Nagpur, the capital of what I believe is potentially the richest Province of India. The fact that it is not yet fully developed makes it the more fascinating to come here in the early days before large-scale industrialisation takes place here in the Central Provinces and Berar.

I am sorry that my visit is such a short one—only two nights—but I have only about five months left and during that time I want to visit all the Provinces of India and the principal States as well; and I must spend at least every alternate week in Delhi to keep in touch with my Government.

This brings me to the question of this speech. Now, normally, up to 15 August, if I had a speech to make I just thought it out on my own and then made it; because I could

take full responsibility for what I said. But now, as a constitutional Governor-General, if I am called upon to speak on such an important occasion as to the Members of the Chambers of Commerce of the Central Provinces and Berar, I would normally prepare the speech very carefully in consultation with the appropriate Ministries of the Government of India. Thus the speech would be in consonance with the policy of the Central Government. Unfortunately through some misunderstanding between the staffs in Nagpur and in Delhi, it was not realised that I was going to be called upon to make this speech until the day that we left Delhi to come on tour. It was then too late to prepare a speech in conjunction with the Government of India; with the result that I had two alternatives: either not to say anything at all, or to ask our hosts whether they would be so kind as to treat my remarks as completely "off the record"; that is to say purely expressions of personal opinion and not the opinions of the Government of India. And I would ask the gentlemen of the Press if they would be so kind as to respect my request that this speech should be "off the record". I have already made two "on the record" speeches to-day and this one might prove an embarrassment to myself and my Government if it were to be "on the record".

India to-day finds herself in an undeservedly difficult position. I say undeservedly because partition, which nobody in the Dominion of India wanted—least of all myself—should not necessarily have brought in its train all the troubles, the massacres and the exchange of populations which followed. But as the President has remarked, these vast gigantic movements of populations, and these troubles leading to communal distrust and hatred, have taken place, and India to-day is not yet in the strong position she should be to start building her own great future.

For we still have one outstanding item which has not yet been dealt with completely. You all know what that is. It is the case of Kashmir which is now before U.N.O. and I sincerely hope that a solution will be found—a solution which will be acceptable and which will enable conditions to be

created in this sub-continent wherein the two countries of Pakistan and India can live together in the degree of amity which is necessary for the future of the sub-continent. I will come back to that at the end of my speech.

In the meanwhile, to look at the industrial and commercial position. There has been, as you all know, a fall in the productive output by labour in this country in the last year. There have been trade disputes which have contributed to this; and so one of the first problems that confronts everybody in India—not just those connected with commercial life but in any walk of life—is to find ways and means to reduce and if possible end labour disputes. Other countries have adopted means of giving labour a share in the management of the factories by means of joint committees; and this is a solution which I believe has been adopted by some companies and which should certainly be explored all over India.

As you all know, there has recently been a meeting under Dr. Mukherjee, the Minister of Industries and Supplies, in Delhi, at which an industrial truce was agreed upon, which we all hope will be observed in future.

Lack of communal harmony must inevitably hamper the development of this great country. Our great National Leader, Mahatma Gandhi, has, at the risk of his own life, contributed in the greatest possible measure towards restoring communal harmony. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the result of his fast; and history, I think, will put it down as the most important of his life.

Now all of us I think agree that the first priority in front of us to-day is to raise the standard of living of the people throughout this continent, particularly in the rural areas. That postulates a large-scale industrialisation of the country, for in the present state of the country it cannot support a much higher standard of living among the 330 millions of people who remain in the Dominion of India. If you are going in for large-scale industrialisation, then hand in hand with that must go education. You cannot have large-scale industrialisation in a country where the percentage of illiteracy is as high as it is in India.

You will notice that there have recently been two important conferences in Delhi. One on industrial and commercial questions, and the other on education. Both of them were very satisfactory, particularly as they dealt with two of the most important subjects which face us in the Dominion of India to-day.

Now, to look for a comparable example, I feel the simplest case is that of Russia during the twenty years between the two world wars. During that time Russia that great vast country with one of the biggest populations in the world, advanced from virtual illiteracy and a small-holding peasant population, to a nation which was sufficiently educated and industrialised to be able to take on and fight the might of Nazi Germany, one of the most highly educated and industrialised nations in the world. All that was achieved in the space of twenty years. That is a standard which I feel here in a free India, we can surpass.

Here in the Central Provinces and Berar industrialisation is of quite particular importance. Here you have natural resources in minerals, timber, and other potentialities, which should be developed; and where I hope you will be able to absorb many of the refugees from the West Punjab, many of whom are high class men who will be eminently fitted to take part in the industrialisation of the Province.

One reads in the newspapers and one hears on all sides in conversation with people, that the country is waiting for a declaration of Government policy on the industrial and commercial future of the country. I do not think I am giving any secrets away when I say that there is a Government Committee which is working hard on this problem. But while this subject is *sub judice* it would not be right of me to try and forecast what that Committee may be going to find; even if I knew what the Government policy is likely to be. But I have had conversations with my Prime Minister—and, if I may say so, my great friend—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and one of the things we have spoken about has been the industrial and commercial future of this great country.

We have discussed the degree of nationalisation which

should take place, and when. He fully realises the need for a policy and an announcement. It is quite clear that two factors will govern any nationalisation to take place. First of all the line beyond which it is not intended to go; secondly, the timing, that is to say the time when a particular industry should be nationalised. People frequently overlook the immense importance of timing. I will give you an example: it might be perfectly right to nationalise everything in India, but it might take a century to do it. To suggest that you should nationalise everything immediately would be to make nonsense of the policy. In other words, timing has to go hand in hand with the actual degree to which you are going to nationalise. And one thing you can count on, and that is that the Government at the Centre is made up of eminently sensible people who I do not think will be led away by idealistic schemes that are not capable of being implemented in a certain time.

One question arises: Is it better to nationalise new industries that have not yet been started and to start them on a national basis, or is it better to nationalise the old industries that are already running concerns?

Here we come to the question of what private enterprise can do. Private enterprise can do a tremendous lot for a country in the state of development that India is in to-day. I sincerely believe that by pushing on with their respective businesses private enterprise can play a vital part for many years to come.

But obviously India cannot lag behind in nationalising certain of the industries in the country and, although I do not yet know what the policy will be, it will be a sensible policy because it will be made by sensible men.

Overall central planning is a most urgent need for the whole of India; because if private enterprise is to continue to play a really useful part, then it must be fitted into the overall plan for India; and this overall plan should include cottage industries in the villages and small concerns, both Provincial and in the States, which should go along hand in hand with the larger concerns, and will become important as soon as

cheaper power becomes available and the raw materials can be got. That will help to ensure a balanced economy in the whole country.

Most of you will have read Pandit Nehru's admirable speech at Aligarh University last Saturday. I have cut out two sentences from the newspaper which I should like to read to you, because of their immense significance. As usual they are beautifully constructed, for Pandit Nehru is a master of the English language. He said: "I am proud of India, not only because of her ancient magnificent heritage, but also because of her remarkable capacity to add to it by keeping the doors and windows of her mind and spirit open to fresh and invigorating winds from distant lands". What a wonderful statement from the leader of a country that has just won her freedom; and may I for one moment—although I am a servant of the Government of India and am proud to be thus one of you—may I for a moment allow my British nationality to obtrude and to refer to the remarks that your President made in his speech and link them with Pandit Nehru's remarks.

Nothing is more remarkable, and history will construe it so, and nothing could be a finer tribute to Indian character than the fact that the moment that India had been given her freedom by the British in a perfectly above-board and friendly manner, that they should have retained a close association with the British and held out, in fact, the hand of friendship to them, and that the relationship which was previously one that could not have been considered satisfactory either to India or to the freedom-loving people in England, has been replaced by one in which friendship takes the place of the previous links, and one which is exemplified in Pandit Nehru's remarks that India remains wide open to help and friendship from outside.

I would like to read you one other sentence from Pandit Nehru's speech, in which he said: "I believe that for a variety of reasons, it is inevitable that India and Pakistan should draw closer to one another, or else they will come into conflict. There is no middle way."

I entirely agree with Pandit Nehru. There is no middle way. Relations between India and Pakistan are dynamic and not static. They are either going to get better or get worse. And since the whole future of this country depends upon our ability to industrialise and educate, to expand and grow, and since that can only be done under peaceful conditions; and since what I have said of India applies with even greater force about Pakistan; therefore I am convinced that these two countries are bound to be drawn closer together the moment the problem of Kashmir can be resolved.

I have such faith in the future of India that I cannot believe that any problem, however difficult, could be allowed to create a condition of conflict. In fact I am certain that this will be the turning of the tide and that U.N.O. will find a solution which will be acceptable to all concerned.

Well, my friends, this is, as I said before, an "off the record" talk; a talk that comes straight from my heart; a talk that is entirely and exactly what I am thinking to-night. Had I had time to get this passed by the Government of India, may be they would not have wished to change a word of it; may be it could have been published. But unfortunately time prevented consultation and so it must remain, if you do not mind, "off the record".

It only remains for me to thank you, Mr. President, and the Members of the Chamber of Commerce, for the excellent dinner, for the warm hospitality, and for the kind welcome which you have extended to me, to my son-in-law (the son of Lord Brabourne who used to be Governor of Bombay and Bengal), and to my staff. I thank you very much indeed.

Address of Welcome presented by the Corporation of Madras

28 JANUARY 1948

WE, the Mayor, the Deputy Mayor, Aldermen and Councillors of the Corporation of Madras, avail ourselves of the occasion of your visit to our City to extend to you our sincere welcome and good wishes.

As the then Viceroy and Governor-General of India you have borne a conspicuous part in the transfer of power from the British to the people of India. We recall the splendid rôle you played in the prolonged negotiations that led to this crowning triumph of British and Indian statesmanship alike. That our Leaders should have chosen Your Excellency as the first Governor-General is the most eloquent testimony of your consummate tact, untiring devotion to the cause of freedom, and the universal esteem in which Your Excellency is held. We have, therefore, full confidence in your political sagacity and concern for the new-won freedom of India in the critical times facing us, and we devoutly hope that with Your Excellency's advice and co-operation, India will emerge with undiminished honour and bright prospects of a glorious future.

In this connection we cannot but recall the splendid services rendered by the Countess Mountbatten of Burma to the people of India by her social work for the poor by which act she has endeared herself to millions in India.

The metropolitan City has since the cessation of the War enlarged its area and almost doubled its population. What with inadequate finances and scarcity of necessary materials, we are using our best endeavours not only to keep the main concerns of municipal administration going, but many new amenities have been added to the convenience, comfort and entertainment of its inhabitants. We may assure Your Excellency that though we cannot yet claim to have attained perfection, with the availability of more funds and with the improving situation, we hope to make within the very near future this City as "the City Beautiful" on the achievement of which all of us have set our hearts. We trust that Your Excellencies will carry back pleasant memories of your stay in our midst.

In conclusion we wish both Your Excellencies a long and glorious future, even more dazzling than the past, in your present sphere as well as in any office which you may be called upon to occupy.

Reply to Address of Welcome presented by the Corporation of Madras

28 JANUARY 1948

IT is a great pleasure for us to visit the city of Madras. I suppose I ought to refer to this as a revisit to the city because although it is now twenty-six years ago, I had the pleasure of visiting Madras with the Prince of Wales in 1921-22. I also had the chance of visiting the city again during the war, when my Headquarters were in Ceylon, but this was a hasty visit of an operational nature. In those days, of course, Southern India was a very important air base, both for the Navy and for the R.A.F., and Madras was also one of the principal base ports for the Burma campaign. My wife also visited the city in 1945 to see the Military Hospitals and the fine war work being done by the people of Madras.

You, Mr. Mayor, have referred in very kind terms to the work my wife and I have been privileged to carry out in India. It has been a most inspiring time, which we shall never forget and any service we may have been able to give has been more than repaid by the confidence, kindness and friendship of the people of India.

Here in the South you may well be proud that you have avoided communal troubles. You have set a magnificent example of the happy state of affairs which should, and I am confident eventually will, result all over India. For until we have this communal harmony we are hampered in our progress towards the truly great India of the future which we all wish to see, and which I know generations to come will see.

In conclusion, Mr. Mayor, I should like to thank you most sincerely for the very kind good wishes you have extended both to my wife and to myself. We greatly appreciate the opportunity we have had of meeting you to-day and, in thanking you for your welcome, we also wish all good fortune to the city of Madras in the future.

Combined Rally of Representatives of all the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides Organisations at Madras

28 JANUARY 1948

I AM very glad to have had the opportunity of meeting you all here to-day and to have had the honour of unfurling our National Flag.

I am not going to make a long speech but I must first of all congratulate all of you Boy Scouts and Girl Guides on your fine turn-out to-day. It would have done credit to many a military formation.

I am very glad to hear that in Madras Province there is a United Board controlling all the different Boy Scouts and Girl Guide Associations and I hope we shall see an extension of this overall control on a wider basis in India.

I have been very pleased to hear that citizenship is being introduced as a subject into the curriculum of the schools in the Province and that it is thus intended to teach the best elements of scout and guide training under this heading.

I am delighted to see so many thousands of school children here to-day and I hope that as many of them as possible will join the Boy Scouts and the Girl Guides who have put up such a good show to-day and thus learn the elementary duties of citizenship. I wish you all the best of good fortune in the future.

(His Excellency repeated the last paragraph in Tamil.)

Broadcast Speech on the Special Day of Mourning for Mahatma Gandhi

12 FEBRUARY 1948

THE death of Mahatma Gandhi came with the shock of a personal bereavement to millions of people in every part of the civilised world. Not only those who worked with him throughout his life, or who, like myself, had known him for a comparatively short time; but people who never met him, who never saw him or even read one word of his published works or his prayer meeting talks felt the common shock that comes from the loss of a dear friend.

That was how he always began his letters, "Dear Friend" and that was how I used to reply because it was so obviously the right way to address him. And that is how I and my family will always think of him.

I met Gandhiji for the first time in March of last year; for my first act on arriving in India was to write to him and suggest that we should meet at the earliest possible moment—and at our first meeting we decided that the best way we could help one another to deal with the tremendous problems ahead, was to maintain constant personal contact. The last time he came to see me was a month ago; a few minutes after the prayer meeting at which he had announced that he would fast unto death unless communal harmony was restored. The last time I saw him in life was when my wife and I went to pay him a visit during the fourth day of his fast. During the ten months we had known one another, our meetings had never been formal interviews: they were talks between two friends—and we had been able to establish a degree of confidence and understanding which will remain a treasured memory.

Gandhiji, the man of peace, the apostle of Ahimsa, died by violence, as a martyr in the struggle against fanaticism—

that deadly disease that has threatened to make a mockery of Indian freedom. He saw that this cancer must be rooted out before India could begin to embark on the great task of nation-building which lies ahead.

Pandit Nehru, our great Prime Minister, has set the high aim of a secular, democratic State, in which all can lead useful, creative lives; in which a genuinely progressive society can be developed, based on social and economic justice. This will call for hard work from every one of us beginning right now. Gandhiji would not have wished that our time should be spent in mourning him; our best tribute to his memory is to set to with renewed enthusiasm to make India worthy of his ideals. I am sure that if the hearts and the minds and the hands of a united people are turned to building such a society, upon the foundations of freedom that Gandhiji so firmly laid during his life-time, his death will have proved to be an opportunity, a challenge to us which we are ready to meet—and perhaps by his death it may be possible for him to render his greatest service of all to the people he loved so well; perhaps it will be by the very violence of the shock that the manner of his death caused that India will be enabled to enter into her full inheritance.

Extempore Address to Doon School, Dehra Dun

13 FEBRUARY 1948

FIRST of all I want to say how very pleased I am to have been able to come here on the last day, or almost the last day, that Mr. and Mrs. Foot will be among you, since I have heard so much of what they have done for Doon, not only from the authorities but also from an old Doon boy because I have one on my staff here with me to-day, Gaekwar; and if a boy says that a Headmaster is all right, he must be! I am also glad to have the opportunity to wish Good Luck to Mr. Martyn when he takes over.

Now I haven't got anything prepared in the way of a special speech, but I do want to talk to you seriously because I am quite certain that the public schools of India, of which Doon is a pre-eminent example, have a really important part to play in the future of this great country.

You all know that six months ago India got her freedom, and you all know that that was accompanied by various troubles that we are now overcoming, but I wonder if you realise what the policy of the Government of India is now that they have their freedom. The policy of the Government is very simple, and I am sure you will understand it, and I am sure you will agree with it. The policy is just this. It is to raise the standard of living of the millions of your fellow-countrymen who are in less fortunate circumstances than yourselves, as much as possible and as soon as possible. To achieve this they must first organise the country so that there will be enough wealth available, by means I shall describe presently, to enable the poor people who at the present moment are living in miserable hovels, ill-clad and under-nourished, to have a decent wage so that they can buy enough food and clothes and other amenities; and they must so arrange matters that there is enough available to be bought.

When I was in Madras last week I found that there were several districts which were already classified as famine districts where people are short of the barest necessities in the way of food. It is the aim not only to increase the amount of food available but also to produce enough cloth to ensure all being decently clothed; build sufficient houses and cottages which are hygienic; have good medical services and provide a reasonable education. This is the aim of the Government and the most worthy aim which a new Government of a free country could possibly have.

You may wonder how it is going to be possible to produce this miracle of raising the standard of living of millions of poor people of India. Has it ever occurred to you that this great country has probably got the greatest natural wealth of any country in the world? First of all in the ground you have got coal, iron ore, manganese and many other minerals which have only just begun to be tapped in a comparatively small way. India abounds in great rivers which can be dammed so as to give us immense hydro-electric power. This power can be distributed properly to factories, towns and even to villages. When the water has been used to generate the electric power by turning the water turbines that work the dynamos, the same water will be used to irrigate vast stretches of land up to now not growing crops because of lack of water; we will bring in tractors and modern means of cultivation, so as to bring even greater areas under economical cultivation.

But the greatest wealth that this country possesses are the people of India themselves; this vast natural reservoir of the 300 million people in the Dominion of India. I don't mean just their manual labour which we already have, I mean more particularly their skilled labour of which there is all too little, but which will continuously increase as we give them decent education. Inventive genius which is latent in everybody, can be developed for the good of their own country. The raising of the standard of education will raise the wealth of the country.

Above all I mean the value of the individual characters of individual men, women and children of this country; and we must make sure that they are developed on the right lines.

You may say to yourselves that that is a tremendous programme for any Government to try and undertake. It is, but please remember that these two things I have been talking about—education and character development—are vital to any nation, and you here, have the great good luck and good fortune to be in probably the finest establishment in India for education and for character development. Here you have an absolutely unique chance to make the most of both.

Let us look for a moment at education. This cannot be spoon-fed into you. It is no use sitting down and thinking it will just come to you. You can spend six years here and go away just as ignorant and in that case as stupid as the day you came if you don't make the necessary effort yourselves. If you do make the effort yourselves, then you can learn. I didn't discover until after I had left school that life only becomes really interesting when you know about things. If you remain ignorant and you don't know about things, life is just as dull as it is at present for the simple, illiterate and uneducated peasants who work on the land. But the most valuable and exciting thing to learn is to know how to learn. You must acquire the art of learning and then go on learning for the rest of your lives.

A year ago, in February, I was back at school in Portsmouth, doing the Senior Officers' Technical Course in the Navy. It was great fun. But I don't mean learning at courses; I mean learning in your ordinary life. I learnt more in the last year since I came to India, than in any time in my life. I assure you learning is fun and here you have the opportunity to learn how to learn.

Now we come to the question of developing character. This question presents exactly the same problem. It won't come to you by just being here. You have got to develop it for yourselves; work hard at it just as you have got to work at education.

It will be no good thinking when you have left here that just because you have been to Doon you are automatically a fine fellow. It will be no good trying to trade on the reputation of this School. The world will jolly soon find out if you

don't measure up to Doon standards, and they will wonder if you ever were at Doon. If they find out that you were, and haven't turned out well they will wonder what Doon is coming to! Don't boast about being an old Doon boy unless you know that by so doing you are being a credit to the School.

Don't think because I am preaching to you I consider myself perfect. I am not, but what is important is that I know I am not. The only side of my character with which I feel satisfied is that which has always enabled me to see my own shortcomings. My wife, my children and my staff will tell you that there is a lot of room for improvement. So I go on trying; and that is half the battle. Start now and go on, and you will still find room to improve your character till the day you go to your grave.

Finally, I want to point out that the reason I have spoken to you about all these details is because you boys here at Doon are among the few privileged people who are going to be the pioneers of new India. The Government's policy which I described to you can only happen by having a nucleus to begin on. For this we must have men who are qualified in every way; men from whom we can pick our future professional men; where we can get architects who will not only be good at designing better houses and towns, but who won't let their plans be changed when the employer wants a design made cheaper at the expense of the workers. Architects, who if they are employed on town planning, won't give way to a Town Council who want to save money at the expense of the inhabitants. We want doctors who can go out and fight for decent health services in this country; scientists, but not just scientists who go and invent things, and don't care what happens to their inventions but who will see that they are used to good purposes. We want technicians who are going to make the best of their knowledge and who will train other people to work with them. We need officers for the Armed Forces—officers who will be able to lead other men, both in war and peace; who will set an example to the country by the spirit of their soldiers, sailors and airmen.

Now you have got this opportunity here of fitting yourselves to be the pioneers, and the reason you are bound to be the pioneers is that there are so few out of the millions in India with your opportunities to obtain the necessary qualifications. No one has got the right to go away from Doon and do nothing. Not even if your parents are multi-millionaires, for then you owe everything to the country which has made them and you rich. You must all do something really worth while. It is the only way to be happy.

The most thrilling experience any boy can have is to be here at this moment fitting himself to help make India great. That is why I feel that Doon is so terribly important. There are too few establishments like yours. From here a great India is going to grow. It is up to you—Good Luck.

Extempore Talk at St. Dunstan's, Dehra Dun

13 FEBRUARY 1948

I WANTED to come up and see all of you men who were blinded in the war and who are carrying on in such a magnificent way. I particularly wanted a chance of seeing those men who fought under me in Burma and who lost their sight fighting the Japanese.

My wife and I are so pleased to feel that in a way you are our guests here, since as you know, the buildings here are part of the Governor-General's Bodyguard Lines and thus part of the Government House Estate.

Sir Clutha Mackenzie, Her Excellency and I, have been having a meeting with Sardar Baldev Singh, the Defence Minister, and General Bucher, the Commander-in-Chief, to discuss the future of St. Dunstan's in India and the care of the blinded men. I am pleased to be able to tell you that arrangements are being concluded whereby St. Dunstan's is to continue to help in looking after you in the after care of the blinded which is their speciality.

I just want you to know that we, who have had the luck to come through the war with our eyesight intact, feel very deeply for those who lost their sight. In March 1944, coming back from one of the North-East Burma battlefields, I damaged my left eye so severely that for one week both my eyes were bandaged and I quite thought that my fate might be the same as yours, so at least I have known for one week what it is you are going through, and I should like to express my immense admiration for the courage you have that you should be able to go through all your lives in the magnificent way you are so doing.

On behalf of my wife and myself I wish you the very best of good fortune and I know that everyone in India will join me in such a wish.

(His Excellency's talk was translated into Urdu sentence by sentence.)

Extempore Address to the Indian Military Academy, Dehra Dun

13 FEBRUARY 1948

IT is a very great thrill to me to have a chance to come up and visit the Indian Military Academy, particularly at this time, because the Indian Military Academy is training the future officers of the Army, the Army of a free India, at a moment which is probably the most important in Indian History. Now the Army is, of course, essential in war. But people are apt to think that in peacetime it is only there being got ready for war. That is not so in any country, but particularly not in the case of India, because in the case of India it is the presence of the Army of well-disciplined, entirely impartial loyal men, that causes stability at times of trouble such as we have been passing through.

It is for the Army, more than any other organised unit in the country, both to set an example and to bring about the policy for which Mahatma Gandhi gave his life; that is, of a unified India without any communal bitterness or ill-feeling. It is for the Army to carry out the policy of the Government which Pandit Nehru has laid down, which is to build a great secular State in India in which everybody is going to have opportunities the like of which has never been seen before in India. And to do that I don't need to tell you that you must never in any circumstances mix politics with soldiering. That doesn't mean to say everybody should not have their own views on politics, but it does mean to say that your first loyalty is to the Government and to the Service. Your personal feelings must be subordinate to that.

Now, throughout the world in all the armed forces, scientific development is moving at so rapid a pace that mechanisation and scientific development are the order of the day

in practically every army. It is necessary, therefore, to have officers and technical men who have special education and training to enable them to work these various mechanical gadgets. But will you please remember that machines don't run themselves. Every machine has to be run by a man and ultimately the whole thing depends on the man and his working the machine. And so pay the greatest possible attention to the man.

I am sure you have often been told that, but I wonder if you realise that it is not just a platitude. Let me give you an example.

When I went out to South-East Asia at the end of 1943, we had been continuously defeated at sea, on land and in the air. In the Far East the Allies had been pushed back from Malaya and from practically the whole of Burma. The South-East Asia theatre was and remained at the bottom of the priority list. Not only had the Combined Chiefs of Staff given us practically no reinforcements or new equipment, but I well remember that we had to send back some of the little we had. For example during the Burma campaign we were ordered to send 25-pounder ammunition to General Eisenhower whose need was considered to be greater than ours.

But if we couldn't amass material resources we could at least build up the men's morale. We could make the men feel they were better fighters than the Japanese, make them feel they did not require extra equipment, but could beat them on their own merits. Ask any of the instructor officers here who were with me in South-East Asia, and they will tell you the one factor on which we beat the Japanese was on morale. It is true that the Japanese were brought up to fight to the bitter end. They had plenty of grit but no intelligent feeling behind it. The 14th Army (which was 70% Indian) went out and fought them to a finish for they had a better cause and we built up a better morale. This was a case where men with old, insufficient, antiquated equipment rose above it and beat them with the spirit of their morale.

With regard to the technical side, I don't want you to think I am running down the importance of technical equipment. I had ten years in the Navy as a specialist in Radio

Communication and have never changed my opinion that the man matters more than the machine. The wireless operator matters more than the transmitter or receiver which he is operating. In due course I had the honour of being offered a most important job in the experimental side of the Wireless Department of the Signal School, but I asked to be excused and refused their offer, and instead asked if I might be sent to the Instructional Staff. This was not considered such an important job but I wished to remain in touch with the men. They are the factor that matters and I am quite certain it is a point to remember when you are dealing even with technicians.

You have probably already been told that Napoleon said: "There are no bad battalions, only bad commanding officers". This is absolutely true. I had a case in the early days of the war where a commanding officer lost his nerve and his whole ship went jittery. As soon as I noticed this I replaced him and within twenty-four hours the whole atmosphere had changed and the ship was as good as ever. So much depends on leadership of the officers.

Now here you have a great opportunity of acquiring not only education but of developing your character in such a way that it will fit you to be among the world's finest officers. Education is not a thing that can be spoon-fed into you like medicine. You have to pick it up for yourselves. Often one doesn't appreciate the immense value of the opportunity of being at a college while one is still there. One doesn't realise that the whole of after life can be interesting or dull, according to the amount you have learnt about things and according to whether you have picked up the knack of acquiring knowledge. Here you have the chance to learn how to learn, and lay the basis for continuing your education all your life.

I have tried to continue my education all my life. This time last year I was doing the Senior Officers' Technical Course in the Navy at Portsmouth. But it is not just learning during courses that enables you to continue your education all your life. I have learnt more since I came to India than in any single time in my life.

It is important also to make up your mind what sort of

a character it is that you want to develop. Many people have tried to define it, but it is not easy to put into words. I suggest that you want to be the sort of man that other men look up to. I don't mean only your subordinates or your contemporaries, but also your senior officers. How can you become that? First of all I think by setting yourselves a standard of integrity, of moral and intellectual honesty so that you yourselves never deceive yourselves, but know exactly where you stand. Develop wide open minds so that you can see both sides of any subject and other persons' points of view. Strive for a reputation of fairmindedness which is justified because you really are fairminded, so that when you come to make a decision, people will have confidence in it, and know it is honest. After that you must have the moral courage to stand by that decision, even at a time when it might prove to be unpopular and cause you to be jeered at.

To acquire this in your character you have got to work hard. It will not just come to you by itself. You have got to make the most of your opportunities here. Think to yourselves every day—am I improving? It is no good sitting back and saying when you leave here—“ I have been to the Indian Military Academy; I am an old gentleman-cadet, therefore I am a good officer” because, believe me, although you ought to be a good officer, many men who have risen from the ranks or entered without the facilities you have here, will be better officers than you if you have not made the most of your opportunities.

I have been preaching to you, but please don't think I imagine myself perfect; very far from it. I have only one real advantage that I know of, and that is that no one is quite so aware of his shortcomings, as I am myself. I spend my time trying to improve myself. I am getting a bit old to do it successfully—but at least I don't deceive myself. Let me give you a personal example. All fighting men should have courage. I will admit to you that during the war I consider that I fell short of the standards I would like to have lived up to on more than one occasion. What is courage? It is not just being unafraid, for no one can help it if he feels afraid

but the quality an officer requires is, I suggest, not showing his emotions. Twice I slipped up on that and if it helps you to understand what I mean I don't mind confessing it.

I remember in my first night action of this war, after my flotilla leader, the *Kelly* had been torpedoed off a German minefield in the North Sea, an enemy E-boat came out of the darkness and opened fire, as it shot past us, at the bridge on which I was standing, with a 20-mm. pom-pom. This was at 20-30 yards' range. I was alone on the bridge as my damaged ship was being towed back and the survivors were busy trying to prevent the ship from turning over. I ducked down behind the bridge screen, a very silly thing to do, for it would not have kept out a rifle bullet. Then I suddenly felt frightfully ashamed and very glad I was alone on the bridge so that no one had seen me duck. I said to myself "Never again will I permit myself to show when I am afraid."

Next time I was in a different destroyer of my flotilla, the *Javelin* when we met an enemy destroyer flotilla in the Channel. It was a pitch black night, in the days before radar had got going, so we almost ran into each other before we opened fire. We fired a split second before the Germans. Photographs taken were subsequently measured and showed that the range on opening fire between the two leading destroyers was 900 yards. The enemy destroyer fired a broadside with her five 5.1-inch guns. As you are soldiers and not sailors I will compare this with a land situation. It was exactly as though you were standing on an exposed target—900 yards from a medium battery opening fire across open sights. I don't mind admitting it put the wind up me, so I regret to say I stepped off the compass platform for a moment. Then I quickly glanced at a convenient instrument; I looked to see if it was all right and then stepped back on to the compass platform. I got away with it because people did not realise why I had stepped down.

I need not have worried. The enemy shells went whizzing overhead and missed us, but as the Germans turned and ran away they fired a salvo of torpedoes. One torpedo blew off our bows, another caught us amidships, and blew the whole

stern up so that it was twisted and started to make the ship capsize at thirty knots. Then a miracle occurred, the after magazine blew up and our twisted stern came off so that the ship came upright again.

This was not the end of my shortcomings in the war for I also proved to lack moral courage.

A year later I was in command of my flotilla in Malta; we were based there to prevent the Germans and Italians getting supplies through to Rommel. The German bombers had sunk all the mine-sweepers in the harbour; so that we had to come back after a night operation over unswept mines. The fourth destroyer of my line blew up right between the two harbour breakwaters. I refused to go out again until more mine-sweepers came through. This took ten days. During that time we had forty-seven direct bombing attacks on the flotilla in the harbour.

It is unpleasant being bombed at sea but far more unpleasant in harbour where one is a sitting target. In order that the men's nerves should not be unduly strained by these endless attacks I ordered half the ship's company of each ship should go into the rock shelters in Malta harbour. I said that either the captain or the second-in-command was to be on board and that the other should be in the shelter. I gave the order, but I had not the moral courage to obey my own orders. There was nobody to give me the order and so I stayed on board, I hated it every time we were attacked but was more frightened of what my friends would say if my ship were sunk whilst I was in a shelter.

Let me paint you a picture of the other side, of first class leadership. I need hardly say that in this case it is not myself I shall choose as an example. I do not propose to choose an Indian or a Britisher either, I intend to pick an American Officer who served under me in Burma—Colonel Philip Cochran, one of the greatest air aces of the war.

He was in command of No. 1 Air Commando, which was a special air unit set up in America at my request to help General Wingate launch his long-range penetration groups behind the Japanese lines. In March 1944 Wingate's opera-

tion was about to be launched. It was to consist of a fly-in on two jungle clearings behind the Japanese lines. The code word for one was Broadway in deference to the Americans, the other was named Piccadilly. The Indians were not left out for a further code name for the third air strip was Chowringhee.

On an airfield in Assam one evening just before dusk there were lined up a great quantity of gliders and the men with their equipment were climbing into them. Tug aircraft were warming up their engines when the photo reconnaissance flight came in. Every four days we had been taking pictures of these two clearings in the jungle. The last picture taken had shown that they were still clear and unobstructed; but now the P.R. officer dashed out of his dark room holding in his hands wet prints which showed that whereas Broadway was still clear Piccadilly had been obstructed by tree trunks being drawn across by elephants.

Wingate thought that the Japanese had got wind of our plans and obstructed one airfield so as to be able to concentrate on destroying our forces on the other one. After some discussion General Slim, who was in command of the 14th Army, and Air Marshal Baldwin who commanded the 3rd Tactical Air Force decided that the operation was to continue. General Wingate, of course, fully agreed; but instead of landing half on each airstrip they decided to land the whole lot on the remaining one. That meant to say that all the pilots of the tug aircraft and the gliders who had been briefed to fly-in to Piccadilly had now to be briefed at the last possible moment to go to Broadway. For months they had been studying maps, photographs and models of Piccadilly and they now had twenty minutes' notice to go to Broadway. You will realise the devastating effect on morale that such an announcement could have, and General Slim told me that he was most intrigued to see how this young fellow, Cochran, would get away with explaining that to his pilots.

He followed him down the field to where Cochran pulled up a jeep and jumped on the bonnet, and called all his pilots round him and broke to them the most unpleasant news that

they were likely to hear in their lives. This is how he did it: "Boys we have found a *better* place to go to".

My time is running out and I want to end up by reminding you that the fighting services of the country can no longer remain in watertight compartments. I had the privilege in the last war of being chosen to start off the Combined Operations Headquarters, which was the first inter-service inter-Allied headquarters, I think, in history. I then had the inspiring experience of having to set up a similar inter-service inter-Allied headquarters in South-East Asia. There I learnt that the three services have got to work as one. Officers have got to know those of the other services and work together.

I threw what weight I could into the scale in this direction, when the question of how young Indian officers were to be trained for war was brought up by Field-Marshal Auckinleck; I was as keen as he was that there should be a National War Academy in which the three services would have their young officers trained together. This is to be built eventually at Karakawasla near Poona and building sites have been earmarked, but it will take at least seven years to put up all the buildings. I am glad to be able to tell you that there are proposals now under examination in the Ministry of Defence to start something on the same lines right here at Dehra Dun in the first instance. It has not yet been officially approved, but I hope that it will be in the near future. I cannot imagine more perfect surroundings in which to start such a vital scheme off.

Exactly a year ago I was lecturing at Sandhurst. During the war I visited the R.A.F. College at Cranwell and the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis. I have also seen the U.S. Military Academy at West Point and I was myself educated at the Royal Naval College, Dartmouth. So I am speaking from first-hand knowledge when I say that the enthusiastic spirit I have seen here compares very favourably to any other naval, military or air force establishments I have seen in the United Kingdom or America.

You are going to be officers at a great historical moment

in the history of India. The Army can do more than any other service for India to make her great, but you must work in well with the other two services. I wish you all the very best of luck.

Flag-Hoisting Ceremony at the Ceylon Independence Celebrations, New Delhi

14 FEBRUARY 1948

I AM particularly pleased to have the opportunity of speaking at this Flag-Hoisting Ceremony because I am fortunate enough to have a close personal acquaintance with Ceylon. During the last war my South-East Asia Headquarters were at Kandy for over eighteen months, and as the island was very much a base of operations for all three services I visited many parts of it and so was able to see much of its tropical beauty. I have never met a more friendly and cheerful people and I cannot believe that there is a lovelier island anywhere in the world.

But I had close interests with the island from another different point of view. A month after I arrived in the island, I called a meeting with Their Excellencies the Governor, Sir Andrew Caldecott, and the Commander-in-Chief, Ceylon, Admiral Sir Geoffrey Layton. As a result of this meeting I sent home a report which, I understand, contributed materially to the decision to send out the Soulbury Commission to the island, one of the members of which was the recent Governor of Bengal, Sir Frederick Burrows. The independence of Ceylon within the British Commonwealth which we are celebrating to-day is the direct result of the Soulbury Commission's report and I am naturally proud to have had the privilege of playing a small part in Ceylon's achievement of freedom.

Fortunately, Ceylon, like India, has escaped the fate of Burma in being a major battlefield of the past war, and has emerged unscathed apart from the short air raids in 1942. In these circumstances there is a solid foundation on which to build for the future, and with economic stability and a good

export trade I feel that Ceylon can look forward to the future with every confidence. I should have liked to have been able to visit Colombo again for the Independence Celebrations, but this has not proved possible. I am therefore particularly pleased to have had this opportunity of joining in the celebrations here in Delhi, and to wish Ceylon all good fortune in the years to come. I am asking Mr. De Silva, the Ceylon Government's Representative here in Delhi, to pass these good wishes of mine on to his Government in Colombo.

Address of Welcome presented at the Benares Hindu University

20 FEBRUARY 1948

ON behalf of the members of the University, I accord a very warm welcome to you on the occasion of your first visit to us. Our gratification is deep and genuine, because of your memorable achievements in peace and war, and because you have identified yourself with the country and its people in a manner which has evoked unstinted admiration. Both you and Lady Mountbatten are exceedingly welcome in our midst.

We have recently suffered, with the rest of the country but with special keenness, two grievous losses in the passing away of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the founder of the University, and of Mahatma Gandhi. It shall be our constant endeavour to be worthy of them and to cherish the ideals for which they lived and died.

As Universities go, we are a young institution. But we have, we trust, established our position as a Centre for the bringing up of youth and advancement of knowledge. We are a Hindu community, but we recognise that learning and scholarship know no communal or geographical frontiers. Our portals are open to all, irrespective of caste or creed, colour or nationality, and students not only from all the communities in India but also from outside come to us.

The University has expanded fast. It is our fond hope that it will continue to grow. We set no limits to our desire to take all knowledge for our domain consistently with the maintenance of high standards of academic efficiency. It is our trust that the University will produce young men and women who, while inspired by our ancient culture and traditions, will work for international peace and harmony; who will be honest and upright in conduct; who will be inspired by the noblest ideals without ceasing to be practical; and who will strive to add to the sum of human knowledge and human happiness.

We trust that in spite of your brief visit you are taking with you pleasant recollections of the University. For our part we assure you that we have been delighted to welcome you.

Extempore Address to the Benares Hindu University

20 FEBRUARY 1948

I AM very proud to have the privilege, in my official office as your Lord Rector, to address you as a fellow-member. Twenty-six years and one month ago I first came to the Benares University in a more humble capacity—as an A.D.C. to the Prince of Wales when he received his honorary degree of a Doctor of Letters.

I should like to begin by thanking you, Sir, for your address, on behalf of my wife and myself, and for the kind things that you have said about us. I should like to subscribe to what you have said about those two great men who passed away recently—the founder of this University, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and our late beloved Gandhiji. I don't suppose there has ever been a case of one man dying and crores of people feeling his loss as a personal loss. I know that my wife and family and I myself feel his loss more and more every day.

And I know that he would have been very gratified to hear the words that you, Sir, used in your speech when you said that the portals of the Benares Hindu University were open to all irrespective of caste or creed; colour or nationality. Nothing that you could have said could have pleased him more. And I hope that this policy will always remain the same; not only in theory but in practice; so that all who come here will be equally welcome and made to feel at home.

When Her Excellency the Governor of the United Provinces, Mrs. Naidu, warned me that I was expected to speak on this occasion, I asked her what she advised me to say; and she said "When I address the students I wag my finger at them and say 'You naughty, naughty owls, behave yourselves'." "Well," I said, "that is all right for you; but if I

wag my finger and call them owls, they will all hoot at me ”.

So I am not going to do that; but I am going to speak to you very seriously, because the universities of India, and pre-eminently the Benares Hindu University, have a vital rôle to play at this time in the future building up of India.

It is just six months ago that India got her freedom; and this, as we all know, was accompanied by great troubles. The Government of India have surmounted those troubles, and are now turning their attention to the future of this country. There is no secret about what their policy is; but I would like to tell you how I see it. You all know that their main object is to raise the standard of living of the millions of your fellow-countrymen who are less favourably situated than yourselves; who live in miserable hovels, are ill-clad, under-nourished and illiterate.

In order to do this the Government have obviously got to so organise the wealth of the country that enough will become available to enable this great adventure to take place. That is to say, they must make sure that the country is so organised that everyone can earn a fair and reasonable amount; and they must also so organise it that there will be enough food, clothing, decent houses and cottages; enough doctors and hospitals; enough schools and education facilities, in order to meet the demands that their increased standards will need.

Now you may think that this is a very tall order and very difficult to carry out; but it can be done; because if you stop and think for a moment you will realise that this great country of India has the greatest natural potential wealth of any country in the world. In the ground there is not only coal, iron-ore, manganese and many other minerals, which have only just begun to be tapped; but India as you know, abounds in great rivers; and the schemes that are being carried out and have been carried out in the past are small compared with the schemes the Government of India now have in mind for the future.

These schemes will mean that the water from the rivers will be used to drive the hydro-electric turbines to produce

electric power which can be distributed at very small cost. After the water has done that, it will be used to irrigate vast stretches of land where nothing has grown hitherto for lack of water.

Desert reclamation is another science which will save large parts of India. Tens of thousands of square miles of the deserts of Jodhpur and Bikaner, will be reclaimed; and I do not hesitate to prophesy that by the end of about fifty years the whole of these vast stretches of land will be among the most fertile in the world.

So you see that there is every chance of the policy of the Government of India being made good.

But the greatest potential wealth of India lies in the people of India; those 300 million men, women, and children that make up the population of this great country. I don't refer just to their manual labour which at the moment we are using, though very uneconomically. I am referring to their skilled labour, which constitutes at the moment a very small percentage of the population, but which with the spread of education can rise to so great a percentage that it could eventually become nearly a hundred per cent.

Remember also the inventive genius of the people which can be trained and developed and made use of for the benefit of the country.

And last but by no means least, I would refer to the individual characters of the individual men, women, and children of this country; because that is where much of the wealth of the country lies. If we can give them education and give them a chance to develop their characters, then there is no telling how great this country may not become.

Extempore Address at the Silver Jubilee Convocation of the University of Delhi

7 MARCH 1948

IT is a great privilege and pleasure that my *ex officio* position as Chancellor of the University of Delhi enables me to preside at this Convocation and to confer honorary degrees on some of the most eminent men of India and in particular upon our great Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. I feel particularly proud to receive the honorary degree of a Doctor of Science myself.

It is a curious but to my wife and myself a very pleasant coincidence that Delhi University should be celebrating the Silver Jubilee of its foundation in 1922; for we were married in that year and have just celebrated our silver wedding. The connection between these two events may not be immediately apparent until I tell you that the room in which I asked my wife to marry me in February 1922 was Room No. 13, which is now the Registrar's Office.

I am afraid I cannot claim that we were both members of the University, for the University at that time had not been founded, and the building in which the proposal took place was then Viceregal Lodge.

I was immensely gratified to read that the Executive Council and the Academic Council of this University, in their joint meeting at which they placed on record their sense of the immeasurable loss which the whole of India and not least the city of Delhi, had sustained by the death of Mahatma Gandhi, concluded their resolution with the following words: "We solemnly pledge ourselves to use every endeavour within our power to follow the high example which he has set and accordingly to promote friendship among all communities and re-establish this University as a place of learning where

two great cultures can meet and enrich one another, and which welcomes and gives protection to all."

How dearly Gandhiji would have loved that resolution; and how pleased he would be to feel that the members of the University are carrying it out.

The University of the capital city of one of the greatest countries of the world must always play a very important part in the life of the country; and indeed all the universities and educational establishments of India have a vital rôle to play at this time in the future building up of India.

It is less than six months ago that India got her freedom; and this, as we all know, was accompanied by great troubles. The Government of India have surmounted those troubles, and are now turning their attention to the future of this country. There is no secret about what their policy is; but I would like to tell you how I see it. You all know that their main object is to raise the standard of living of the millions of your fellow-countrymen who are less favourably situated than yourselves; who live in miserable hovels, are ill-clad, undernourished and illiterate.

In order to do this the Government have obviously got to so organise the wealth of the country that enough will become available to enable this great adventure to take place. That is to say, they must make sure that the country is so organised that everyone can earn a fair and reasonable amount; and they must also so organise it that there will be enough food, clothing, decent houses and cottages; enough doctors and hospitals; and enough schools and education facilities, in order to meet the demands that their increased standards will need.

Now you may think that this is a very tall order and very difficult to carry out; but it can be done; because if you stop and think for a moment you will realise that this great country of India has the greatest natural potential wealth of any country in the world. In the ground there is not only coal, iron-ore, manganese and many other minerals, which have only just begun to be tapped; but India as you know abounds in great rivers; and the schemes that are being carried out and

have been carried out in the past are small compared with the schemes the Government of India now have in mind for the future.

(His Excellency then spoke on the future policy of the Government of India along the same lines as his address at the Benares Hindu University on page 143.)

Speech at the Laying of the Foundation Stone of the New Faculty Building of the Delhi University

7 MARCH 1948

THE foundation stone which I am about to lay is the start of one of the most important projects in recent years affecting the University, for it is the foundation-stone of the Faculty Building, and on the other side of the Vice-Chancellor's Avenue, facing the Faculty Building, it is intended to build in due course the new University Library. These two buildings, the Faculty Building and the University Library, will represent the real heart of the University, and they are sited in the centre of the other University institutions which it is hoped to build later on.

In this Faculty Building I am told that all University post-graduate teaching and ultimately all undergraduate Honours teaching in arts subjects will be concentrated. In addition to the necessary lecture rooms, libraries and so on there will be two quadrangles at each end, and in the centre an Assembly Hall, where the University will in the future be able to hold its Convocations and other ceremonies.

The Government of India have enabled this building to be constructed by a substantial grant, made to the University on the recommendation of the University Grants Committee. I am very sorry that the architect, Mr. Mathur, a graduate of the University, who has also designed the University Science Libraries, is prevented from being present on this notable occasion.

I am sure that all these buildings, when complete, will form a group of University buildings scarcely equalled in India, and in the most attractive siting of trees and gardens. It is therefore a great pleasure to me to be present this afternoon and to participate in the start of this great venture, and I shall now have much pleasure in laying this foundation stone.

Speech by the Sheriff of Calcutta at a Reception at Calcutta

9 MARCH 1948

ALLOW me to accord you on behalf of the citizens of Calcutta and on my behalf a most cordial welcome to this great City. I am deeply beholden to you for graciously agreeing to accept my invitation to the Party this afternoon, in spite of your many pressing duties of the State. This is an occasion for special gratification to the citizens of Calcutta, this being your first visit to Calcutta since India has become free.

On this occasion when we recall the great rôle Your Excellency played in the achievement of India's freedom, our heart becomes heavy, as we are poignantly reminded of Mahatma Gandhi, the architect of our freedom. In the dawn of our newly-won freedom, the foul hands of an assassin snatched away the greatest possession the nation had in the person of Mahatma Gandhi. Your Excellency too has found moving words to express your wrench of heart as you had occasion to come in intimate contact with Mahatma Gandhi, while the destiny of the country was being moulded, and an opportunity to know the man. We are still overpowered with profound sense of grief and loss.

Your Excellency's military exploits are well known. As the Supreme Commander of South-East Asia Command, your name has become a household word in the East. But in India you will be forever remembered for a nobler cause. To Indians you will ever remain enshrined as one who contributed in no small measure for a successful transference of power into the Indian hands. The transference of power by mutual consent from one people to another has been a unique event in world history. It is all the more unique in view of the fact that the process had to be completed within the shortest possible time of only two and a half months. Negotiations of a complex nature and at the highest level had to be carried out, the administrative machinery had to be set up, many committees had to function, to make transference of power a smooth one. That this had been possible is in no small measure due to your political sagacity and wise statesmanship. Events had been moving with such swift rapidity that it would have been impossible for any one with lesser qualities than yourself to cope with the same.

Your Excellency's constitutional Governor-Generalship after

15 August 1947 is a voluntary arrangement. This shows how dear you are in the estimation of the people of India. Your term of office as Governor-General has been crowded with events of great significance to this ancient country. The period of British domination over India is at an end. Our relationship with Britain henceforward is going to rest on a basis of equality, mutual goodwill and friendliness, and we look forward in the coming years to a great co-operative effort between the two countries. In these difficult days of transition, you have been a source of great help to our cause. Your presence in our midst at this fateful period in Indian history will, we doubt not, bring the two peoples nearer and develop and nourish cordial relationship between these two free countries.

Closely allied to the constitutional development of the country is the accession of the States to the Indian Union in respect of which Your Excellency has played an equally great part. Your able handling of the situation has undoubtedly helped the process of accession. This will also be one of your most notable contributions to the cause of Indian freedom and unity.

No less remarkable are the noble services that Your Excellencies have been rendering to the cause of relief and rehabilitation of the evacuees into the Indian Union and the victims of revengeful riots. The problems which insensate acts of violence and lawlessness have given rise to are of a gigantic magnitude, putting a severe strain on the resources in men and materials of the State. In this huge task the keen interest that Your Excellency and your worthy consort are taking will, I am sure, inspire and enthuse the people to do their utmost for the relief and rehabilitation of the evacuees and the riot victims.

Your Excellency will become, by your achievements, a part of Indian History, a part of our struggle for independence. The nation is indeed grateful to you. Although we have won political freedom, we yet have to continue to strive for economic freedom, freedom from starvation, hunger, lack of cloth and other necessities of life, without which there cannot be complete freedom. Free India's first objective is to end poverty and to ensure decent conditions of living to the common man. In this task we hope we shall have the unstinted support and co-operation from Great Britain, and your presence as the constitutional head of the Indian Government will help in bringing the two countries together for the furtherance of this object. You will, we doubt not, ever remain a friend of India and your reputation for statesmanship will grow as years pass away.

Before I conclude, I would like to express once again my warm appreciation and gratitude at Your Excellency's acceptance of my invitation.

Reply to speech by the Sheriff of Calcutta

9 MARCH 1948

I SHOULD like to thank you very much for the kind welcome you have extended to us to-day. It has been a great pleasure to me to re-visit Calcutta and have the opportunity this afternoon of meeting so many of its prominent citizens. But my only regret is that my visit to Calcutta is so short. I am hoping to see all the Provinces and most of the larger States before I leave India in June, so with the best will in the world I am afraid that it is impossible for me to fit in more than these two days and another at the end of this week.

May I say how much my wife and I have appreciated the kind way you have referred to us, Mr. Sheriff, in your speech. You have been very flattering and I do not think we could possibly have deserved all the nice things you have said, because we both feel that what we have been able to achieve has been possible only because of the co-operation and friendliness we have received on all sides. When one is received in such a way, and when we are all working towards the common object of the future greatness of India, then it is impossible for anyone not to give of their best in return.

I said earlier on what a pleasure it was to re-visit Calcutta because of course I have been here many times before, starting with my first visit in December 1921, when I was a very junior officer on the Prince of Wales' staff. But it was during the war years that I saw so much of Calcutta. I used occasionally to stay at Barrackpore with the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Land Forces, but more often I stayed at Government House with the Caseys, who had such a great love for the Province of Bengal. I had a set of offices in Fort William and used to move to and from Government House.

I am also particularly pleased to note the absence of communal feeling in this city. I have referred to this pre-

viously, but I feel so strongly about this matter that I must speak of it again. Communalism, with its spirit of intolerance is foreign to the Indian way of life. Mahatma Gandhi, whose tragic loss we are still mourning and whom we miss more and more each day, saw this entirely, and the city of Calcutta, the scene of his magnificent efforts and fast last August, is setting a splendid example to the rest of India by the peaceful conditions existing here.

I must not detain you any longer. It is a great pleasure to us to meet you all here this afternoon, and once again Mr. Sheriff, may I thank you for your kindness and for the hospitality you have extended to us.

Speech by Mr. Tushar Kanti Ghosh, President of the Bengal Press Advisory Committee at a Lunch at Calcutta

9 MARCH 1948

I HAVE great pleasure, on my behalf and on behalf of the Bengal Press to accord a hearty welcome on your visit to the capital of this new Province as the first Governor-General of free and Independent India. To the gentlemen of the Press in Calcutta as well as in other parts of India, you are in no sense a stranger. For we recall the great part that you played as the Supreme Commander of the South-East Asia Command in a most critical and anxious period of the last great war and the high qualities of leadership that you brought to bear upon the strategic operations of the Command.

Your Excellency, if I may say so, has played a major part in the last phase of Indo-British relations which will go down in history as a proud achievement. You took over from your predecessor in the midst of strife and confusion as India's Viceroy and you were destined by Providence to proclaim, in the name of His Majesty, the abolition of that high and great office, and to become the first Governor-General of this land by unfettered Indian choice. This is an event of which any Briton must feel legitimately proud, particularly in view of the long story of conflict and misunderstanding that had marked Indo-British history during the last thirty years. On our side, Your Excellency, I am sure, will appreciate that it is demonstrable evidence that at no stage of our political struggle Indians had been actuated by racial hatred. You will pardon me for reminding you that this is in the best Indian traditions, in particular in conformity with those moral and human considerations which, for more than three decades, had influenced and informed our political behaviour under the guidance and direction of the greatest man of our age, whose passing, in such tragic circumstances, a confused and torn world mourns to-day.

Great credit belongs to you, as Lord Wavell's successor, for having succeeded in persuading His Majesty's Government to quicken the pace and redeem a solemn pledge in the quickest possible time. Never in history, has such a daring and spectacular act been done and with such amazing expedition and smoothness. The whole machinery of the Indian political system and the resources at its command in men and material were mobilised under your able and personal direction for the purpose of ringing out the old and ringing

in the new. It was daring strategy in an exceedingly desperate situation and it is gratifying that a high human endeavour should have so signally triumphed over time and space.

How long you will be pleased to serve India, we do not know, but we are told that this is your farewell visit to Calcutta. If this is true, we assure you most sincerely that we shall part from you with real regret.

The history of Indo-British relations in their old setting is now at an end. The old concept of power-relationship will be replaced by the concept of friendship and understanding and by your tactful and sympathetic handling of the difficult Indian problem you have given evidence that Your Excellency will spare no pains to promote and foster good and neighbourly relations between our country and yours. We believe you will yet play a large part in such matters wherever you may be.

More than once India's Prime Minister has stated that the Indian Union has no territorial ambitions and no greed for markets at the cost of others. It is committed to a policy of honourable peace, progress and friendship. Those nations who share that outlook can always claim India as their friend and ally.

We are grateful to you, Sir, for your great courtesy as a result of which we have had the privilege of meeting you here to-day. We shall always retain a happy memory of this meeting and the honour you have done us. Your Excellency, on behalf of my colleagues and myself I thank you.

Extempore Speech at the Luncheon given by the Bengal Press Advisory Committee

9 MARCH 1948

I SHOULD first of all, Mr. President, like to thank you for the very kind words of welcome with which you have greeted us. I am afraid we do not deserve all the flattering things you have said, but if we have been able to have been of any help to India at the present time it is because we have enjoyed being here. As far as I am concerned it has been a pleasure to work, both before and after the transfer of power, with my colleagues in the Government; and in fact everywhere we have been we have received such help, assistance and kindness

that it would have been impossible for us not to have given our best in return.

As you know, I was no stranger to this city during South-East Asia Command days and it is a great pleasure to me to see some old friends around me to-day.

I never like mentioning names, because it is always embarrassing to the person concerned, but I cannot let this opportunity pass without referring to Ian Stephens, and to the magnificent help he gave us during the war in printing our daily newspaper *SEAC*. I suppose there was hardly a minute during the twenty-four hours that the Statesman's Office was not a blaze of light with machines working overtime to compete with the production of two separate daily papers simultaneously. But the result was justified, as the troops in Burma used to have their daily newspaper flown to them by air throughout the whole of the campaign and from the point of view of morale I can assure all of you here that there is nothing which assists the troops so much, and keeps them in contact with their homes and civilisation, as a daily newspaper.

Ian Stephens and my Press Adviser, Charles Eade, the Editor of the *Sunday Dispatch*, and Frank Owen, the Editor of *SEAC* and now the Editor of the *Daily Mail*, worked together in perfect harmony to achieve this result.

It has been a great joy to me to re-visit Calcutta. During the war it was a sad sight to see the Maidan disfigured with transport dumps and I am glad to see a change for the better in the physical beauties of the city.

But I am even more delighted to note the absence of communal feeling here, and credit for this must go to Mahatma Gandhi, whose tragic loss we are still feeling most keenly. In this connection I must say how greatly impressed I was by the remarkable issue of the *Hindusthan Standard* on the occasion of Gandhiji's death. This was certainly an outstanding piece of journalism; and a magnificent and respectful tribute to his memory.

I should like at the same time to pay a tribute to the part played by the Calcutta press in support of his campaign for

communal peace, and for the constructive and responsible line you have all taken during my time out here. I know that you have had your difficulties; it is not easy for the Press to maintain a national outlook when you are based very largely on provincial circulation and interest.

I have been in Bombay and Madras recently and now have seen Calcutta; I am impressed by the prestige enjoyed by the great papers in these three Provinces, and this prestige is a tribute to the rôle you have to play in moulding the nation's opinions and policies. It is much easier in other countries, such as the United Kingdom, for editorial contact to be maintained with the central government in so far as all the editors of the leading national newspapers are within close distance of Parliament. But here very great distances inevitably separate the editors of the great provincial papers from the central administration and the importance of both sides maintaining regular liaison and an exchange of ideas cannot be too strongly emphasised.

I should also like to thank you particularly for your appreciation of my efforts to build up goodwill between India and the United Kingdom, and I have always been keenly alive to the vital rôle the Press has to play in the furtherance of these good relations. No honest man need be afraid of press criticism—all that matters is the spirit behind it—and I think that India's independence is the best guarantee that this spirit will be good and the criticism constructive.

Our time out here is drawing to a close and we expect to be leaving India by 21 June. This is, therefore, our only visit to Calcutta and we are very sorry that this is so. We have had a magnificent welcome here and particularly so on this occasion. May I think you once again, Mr. President, for the hospitality you and your members have extended to us to-day, which we have greatly enjoyed.

Speech delivered by His Excellency the President of the Union of Burma at a Banquet given at President's House, Rangoon

11 MARCH 1948

I HAVE much pleasure in proposing the toast of the evening. It is the toast of India—India, that great country with which Burma has been bound by ties of neighbourly friendship and spiritual kinship from time immemorial—which ties in more recent times have become closer and more intimate than at any time in the past as a result of common experiences undergone and common successes achieved. The thoughtful gesture on the part of the Government of India, on the initiative of the Earl Mountbatten and Pandit Nehru, in returning that stately emblem of Burmese regal splendour, the Hludaw Throne of King Thibaw, is only the latest proof of the perfect understanding and desire for mutual solicitation that pervade the relationships between the two countries.

It has also given me genuine pleasure to associate with the toast of India a name which has almost become a household word in this country. I mean the name of the Earl Mountbatten of Burma. The people of Burma have cause to be thankful to him, not only for the decisive and spectacular part he played, in full co-operation with the Patriotic Burmese Forces, as the Allied Supreme Commander in South-East Asia in the expulsion of the Japanese from Burma, but also for the initiation of a wise and statesmanlike policy during the confused and difficult period immediately following the defeat of the enemy. In fact we are inclined to believe that Earl Mountbatten's wise counsel, inspired by a correct appraisal of and sympathy for Burmese national aspirations, was to a large extent responsible for the formulation by His Majesty's Government of a policy which resulted in the achievement of independence by Burma in January last.

I would also like to pay a kindly compliment to his charming and noble consort. The Countess Mountbatten has to her credit great and lasting services in the cause of the poor and the sick in many lands, and it was through her initiative and energy that hospitals were opened and the sphere of activities of the Red Cross and St. John's Ambulance Organisations extended at a time when this country sorely needed them and their assistance. The people

here are gratified therefore that such a distinguished and high-minded couple have come to bear the name of their country and the health and happiness of the Earl and Countess Mountbatten will always be in their hearts.

I will now ask you to drink to the continued progress and prosperity of India, and I associate with this toast the illustrious name of the Earl Mountbatten of Burma.

State Banquet at the President's House, Rangoon

11 MARCH 1948

I NEED hardly say what a pleasure it is to me to be back in Burma again among all my old acquaintances, and I should like first of all, Mr. President, to thank you most sincerely for the very kind references you have made to me and to my wife during your speech. I am afraid they are more flattering than we deserve; during my time in Burma during the war years I endeavoured to do my duty as a Service Commander and as Military Governor of the country, and any results I may have achieved were due to the co-operation, assistance and kindness I received from the hands of everyone.

It is many years now since I first came to Burma, as a very junior staff officer, with the Prince of Wales in 1922. I shall never forget my first sight of Rangoon. We came up the river from the sea on board the *Dufferin* to find this beautiful city spread out along the river bank, with the golden dome of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda shining in the sunlight behind the town. It was an unforgettable sight; nor shall I ever forget the thrill I got on my visit to Mandalay—that lovely city of the Kings.

My return to Burma during the war was a bitter-sweet experience—full of happiness that we were liberating this lovely country from the Japanese yoke and of sadness at the sight of the unspeakable devastation which had been caused. For Burma had been fought over twice in three years, and

even this city of Rangoon, although less touched than some other towns I saw in our progress to the south, had suffered grievously during the war years.

When I formed the South-East Asia Command towards the end of 1943, I think it is not unfair to say that all of us, in the Allied countries visualised a long war. In this connection I remember an incident concerning my Principal Administrative Officer, Lieutenant-General Wheeler of the United States Army, when he paid his first visit from my Headquarters to Burma early in 1944. He was talking to Lieutenant-Colonel Williams, who was in charge of the force of elephants with the Fourth Corps, and on asking how long the period was before a baby elephant was born, was told two years. A little later he saw a teak forest on the slopes of a mountain above a river and said "Anyway, it is easy to get the teak away here, as it rolls into the river automatically and floats down the stream." He was informed that this was not the case, because teak has to be dried for three years before it will float. That evening he said to the Corps Commander "If it takes two years to produce a baby elephant and three years for teak to float, I have a feeling things are not going to happen very rapidly on this front."

But as you know things did not go as slowly as all that, and once we got into our stride after the monsoon of 1944, there was no holding the American-Chinese forces on the Northern Front, the 14th Army on the Central Front and the 15th Corps on the Arakan front. We just managed to reach Rangoon before the monsoon of 1945 and a few months after that the second world war ended.

But during that wonderful advance to the south a very significant thing happened in Burma itself. Both in Burma and in Malaya we had taken very great care during the war years to get in touch with what was going on in each country by means of small parties of officers and other ranks dropped behind the lines, to raise small bands of nationalists and keep them supplied with arms. As the months went by these movements developed to an extraordinary extent, and finally General Aung San came forward with his offer to fight on our side.

I was convinced that at all times there was only one thing that he really wanted, and that was that his country should be free, and he was prepared to use every method and every purpose in the furtherance of this ideal. I therefore had no hesitation in asking the British Chiefs of Staff that I should be given authority to enter into negotiations with him, when he offered spontaneously to place his Burmese Patriot Forces under my command. That my judgment of the man was right is shown by the future course of events, in the welcome assistance we received from his Forces, in the leading part which he played in his country after the liberation and in the happy relations existing between him and the last Governor, Major-General Sir Hubert Rance, of which the latter has so often informed me.

It was a great shock to me when I heard of General Aung San's dastardly murder last year! I know full well how all of you must have felt, as we ourselves in India have suffered a similar irreparable loss in the shocking murder of our great leader, Mahatma Gandhi.

But at least General Aung San lived long enough to see not only the liberation of his country, but also long enough to know that the freedom for which he had fought so long was to be Burma's within the very near future. I always recall with pleasure the many meetings I had with him, both here and in Kandy and a year ago in London, and the fresh and forthright approach he had to all the many problems which faced him.

I feel I cannot let this occasion pass without referring to the friendship and goodwill which the people of India have for the people of Burma, a feeling which found expression in the spontaneous rejoicing all over India on the occasion of your recent Independence celebrations. The visit of your Prime Minister to New Delhi last December gave us particular pleasure. It was, I believe, a good augury for still friendlier relations between the two countries in the years to come.

As you are aware, there is a large Indian population here; many of whom are probably looking forward to making Burma their permanent home. I am happy to know that as a

result of your Prime Minister's recent visit to India, the Governments of the two countries have agreed to exchange missions for the purpose of discussion and adjustment of all outstanding issues. I sincerely hope that with so much goodwill on both sides a satisfactory agreement will soon be reached in the interests of that co-operation in larger affairs which the world expects from two great neighbours like India and Burma for the peace and progressive welfare of mankind.

In conclusion, Mr. President, may I say how touched my wife, my family, and I have been by the magnificent welcome we have been accorded here. We should like to thank you very much indeed for the splendid programme which has been arranged for our visit and for the kindness and friendliness we have received on all sides. We shall take back with us to India a very happy recollection of this visit. Finally I should like to wish you and all the people of Burma the very best of good fortune in the future.

Presentation of King Thibaw's Throne to the People of Burma at Rangoon

12 MARCH 1948

I FEEL very proud and privileged to have this opportunity of taking part in this unique ceremony to-day. As I stand here in this great room memories come crowding fast around me. Here I danced as a young man twenty-six years ago, but most I think of the period four years ago when we were starting the fight to liberate Burma, and of the period nearly three years ago when we returned to Rangoon. Here in this room I held an investiture for the presentation of medal ribbons to allied soldiers of many nationalities, and here too I had a small afternoon reception where Bogyoke Aung San and many of his colleagues assembled in a friendly and happy gathering.

General Aung San is alas no longer with us—the man who did so much for his country. During the final months of the war he placed himself and his Burmese Patriot Forces under my command to fight against the Japanese. The assistance which he and his forces gave to our advancing army was most welcome, and from our earliest meeting I formed the opinion that here was a man who was a proved leader and would be a man to guide the destinies of Burma for many years to come. His murder was a shocking loss, and we in India can appreciate how much this has meant to all of you here, as we have recently suffered such a crushing blow by the loss of our great leader, Mahatma Gandhi.

Although this is my first visit to Burma for two years I have retained a close interest in the affairs of the country through the agency of my good friend, the late Governor, Major-General Sir Hubert Rance. I am glad to hear that the rehabilitation of the country is progressing; but I know it will take time, as the whole of Burma was a battlefield twice in three years, and the devastation which I saw everywhere was

unspeakable. I am sure, however, that with her internal resources Burma in the process of time will regain her former strength.

With my close connections with Burma, whose name I have the honour to bear in my title, I was keen that my visit should be marked in some special way. On Burma's Independence Day on 4 January I made a token presentation to your Ambassador in Delhi of the small Taktaposh, which was formerly at the west end of the throne room in Government House, Calcutta. This is the Taktaposh you see before you; it originally belonged to King Thibaw and was taken from the Palace in Mandalay in 1885. I arranged with U Win that I would take this Taktaposh with me in the aeroplane and deliver it in person in Rangoon.

Behind me is the Mandalay Hlutdaw Throne which I shall unveil shortly. This was last used by King Thibaw of Burma when he visited the Hlutdaw, in Mandalay, and which is a replica of the famous Lion Throne of King Thibaw which used to stand in the great Hall of Audience in the Palace of Mandalay, now, alas, burnt to the ground. I also bring with me another object of historical interest—a silver mat which according to tradition was woven by Queen Sup-ayalat for King Thibaw.

I now have much pleasure in presenting the Throne, the Taktaposh, and the silver mat to the people of Burma on behalf of His Majesty the King and of the Government and people of India. In presenting these historical relics may I say, once again, that they come with the warmest wishes and goodwill of all of us in India, and with them go our fervent hope and firm belief that Burma will enjoy to the full the fruits of peace and freedom in the years to come.

Speech by His Excellency the President of the Union of
Burma on the occasion of the Presentation of King
Thibaw's Throne to the people of Burma at Rangoon

12 MARCH 1948

ON behalf of the people of Burma I would ask His Excellency the Governor-General of India to convey to His Majesty King George and the Government and the people of India our grateful thanks for their generous gesture in presenting to Burma the Throne which graced the Hall of the Hlutdaw at Mandalay, and the Taktaposh and the Silver Mat which are all alike of great historical value and interest. The gifts are all the more gracious because they come to us by the hand of one whose friendship for Burma is so evident and whom we highly esteem.

I thank the Governor-General also for the message of goodwill which he brings from India and for the tribute which he paid to our great leader, General Aung San, who is alas no longer with us and to the Burmese Patriotic Forces which took so splendid a part in the liberation of my country from the Japanese yoke.

Finally I would ask the Governor-General to take back to the Government and the people of India the sincere good wishes of the Government and the people of Burma for the success and prosperity of the new Dominion of India.

Extempore Address at Rangoon University

12 MARCH 1948

It is a great pleasure for me and my wife to have this opportunity of visiting the University of Rangoon and to find that the buildings have been restored to the use for which they were intended. The last time I saw them was just after the Japanese Army Headquarters had cleared out of them and when the Allied Forces were beginning to use them as a hospital for Allied wounded and recovered prisoners of war.

I remember distinctly the shock I felt on hearing the report that my air forces had bombed the Teachers' Training College in the University grounds, for I knew what fine buildings the University boasted, and how essential they were going to be to Burma after the war. When I enquired why the University had been attacked, I was informed that the buildings were being used by the Japanese Army Headquarters. I then gave instructions that so far as possible the buildings were to be spared for I was certain that the Japanese were on the run and I did not wish to see the whole University destroyed. I realised then, and it is brought home to me all the more now, the vital part the University of Rangoon was going to play in the future life of Burma.

I remember talking to the late General Aung San when he visited London at the beginning of 1947 about his future plan for the country. He told me that his main object was to raise the standard of living and ensure that all in Burma could earn a fair and reasonable amount, and to provide enough food, clothing and new houses; enough doctors and hospitals; and enough schools and education facilities in order to meet the demand that their increased standards would need.

I admit that this is a tall order and that it is not going to be easy to carry out because of the devastation which the war

has caused in your lovely country, which has been a battlefield twice over. But there are oil and minerals in the land, there are good rivers from which hydro-electric power can be obtained, and above all, there is the opportunity of growing an abundance of rice for export, of which the world in general, and India in particular, stand in such dire need.

But the greatest potential wealth of Burma must lie in her people, the men, women and children. I am not referring just to their manual labour, but to the skilled labour which although it only constitutes a very small percentage of the population at present, can rise to a great proportion with the spread of education.

Remember also the inventive genius of the people which can be trained and developed and made use of for the benefit of the country.

Speech by the President of the Mining, Geological and Metallurgical Institute of India, at a Dinner Party at Calcutta

13 MARCH 1948

DURING the long history of this Institute it has had the honour of entertaining as its Chief Guest three Viceroys of India—Lord Minto in 1907, Lord Hardinge in 1912 and Lord Willingdon in 1933. To-night, however, we are privileged to entertain one who not only was the last Viceroy of India, but who is also the first Governor-General of the new Dominion of India; and I can assure you, Sir, on behalf of the Members of this Institute, how much we appreciate your presence amongst us this evening.

But to describe you, Sir, in terms of your official designations is to paint only a small part of the picture. It has been said that in time of national emergency the right man always appears at the right moment. There is no doubt that the year 1947 was a time of emergency and stress in this country which no ordinary man could have coped with. But once again the occasion produced the man; and you, Sir, by your success in establishing a degree of confidence and understanding with the leaders of this country that was quite unparalleled, did a service, both to your own country and to this country, which it is difficult to overestimate.

To you, Sir, who have spent so active and varied a life on land and sea, the affairs of an Institute devoted to Geology, Mining and Metallurgy must seem peculiarly dull. But geology has a romance of its own, especially to those whose life is spent amidst the jungles and mountains of India; mining, particularly in its exploratory stages, has almost the attractions of the chase; while metallurgy, through the part that it plays in the "age of alloys", has an importance in modern life which few at present realise. Moreover, I am confident that you, Sir, as Chief of Combined Operations, and later as the Supreme Commander of the South-East Asia Command, will have appreciated the part that science played in every phase of the last war. And of all the sciences, those connected with the activities of this Institute may I think be considered to have played a leading part in providing the sinews of war that led to final victory.

These activities are now being directed to more fruitful channels; and with the mineral industry the most important after agriculture in the economy of the country, this Institute clearly has an important part to play in the progress and development of India, and

moreover intends to play it. In furthering these developments, in which courage to take decisions and to cut through the entanglements of worn-out traditions will be more than usually necessary, your guidance would have been an encouragement to us all. And I can assure you, Sir, that the people of this country and in particular those present here this evening, view your departure from India with real regret. Though we can appreciate the reasons that may compel it, we believe that you will not soon forget a country whose interests you have served so well.

When the history of these eventful times comes to be written, the part that you played in them, and in particular the noble work that you did to bring about the birth of the new India, will stand out in high relief.

In the words of William Shakespeare, "You have done the State some service, and we know it."

Gentlemen, I ask you to rise and to drink the health of His Excellency Lord Mountbatten of Burma, Governor-General of India.

Speech by His Excellency Sri Rajagopalachari, Governor of West Bengal, at the Dinner Party given by the Mining, Geological and Metallurgical Institute at Calcutta

13 MARCH 1948

(The Governor spoke extempore and a full report of what he said is not available. The following is extracted from the press reports of the speech)

I do not wish to emphasise Lord Mountbatten's services to India to which ample testimony has already been given, but I would like to take this opportunity to stress rather his services to Britain. Mr. Churchill may feel that what Hastings and Clive had won Lord Mountbatten has thrown away, but that is only true in a superficial sense. The deeper reality is that for the all-round suspicion, bitterness and ill-will that prevailed during the war years, and before, Lord Mountbatten has succeeded in substituting unqualified goodwill between India and Britain.

Has not Lord Mountbatten, then, done greater service to Britain than Hastings and Clive? For this is the greatest service of all. In times to come, it will not be Empires that count, it will be goodwill that counts. Therefore, I say that he has done more for Britain than anyone before him.

Dinner Party given by the Mining, Geological and Metallurgical Institute of India at Calcutta

13 MARCH 1948

I SHOULD like to thank you first of all for the very kind way you have received me to-night and for the honour you have conferred on me in inviting me to dine with you on this occasion. You, Mr. President, have referred to my work out here in very flattering terms. I am not sure that they are entirely justified. But, as I have said on previous occasions, any work which I have been able to do out here is amply repaid by the kindness and friendliness I have received on all sides. In fact it would not have been possible for me to do what I have done but for this kindness and friendliness and there was nothing I could do but to give of my best in return.

You, Mr. President, have suggested that the affairs of an Institute devoted to Geology, Mining and Metallurgy must seem peculiarly dull. I am, I freely admit, not an expert in any of these three subjects, but I was to a certain extent a technical expert in a restricted field in that for ten years in my earlier days in the Navy I was a specialist in wireless telegraphy, and wrote some of the text-books at that time on the subject. In the construction of wireless sets and their components I naturally gained some knowledge of metallurgy.

In addition I am an associate member of the Institute of Naval Architects and the Institute of Electrical Engineers. While at the present time I am President of the British Institution of Radio Engineers. To this extent I can claim therefore that I definitely have scientific connections, although not directly, with geology, mining and metallurgy.

I was particularly interested, Mr. President, in your reference to mining in India, and to the importance of the mineral industry in the economy of the country. In this I agree with you entirely. I am sure that the main lines of progress at which India should aim in the future are in the spheres of education, health and the industrialisation of the country.

It is with the last of these three that I am more concerned to-night.

The large-scale industrialisation of the country will lead to two things; it will be a means of developing all the latent potentialities which exist in India and it will also result in a raising of the standard of living. The first step in the industrialisation of the country is the one which the Government are pursuing, i.e., large-scale hydro-electric works. We shall thus get increased irrigation, leading to more land under cultivation, more food and the raising of nutritional standards, and under the same schemes we shall get cheap electric power, which I hope will be carried all over the country.

It is when we have this cheap electric power that India will really progress, and here I visualise the geological and mining experts of the country playing a really big part. Cheap electric power will enable us to get at and develop all the hidden mineral wealth of the country. Geologists will tell us the likely places for the deposits to be found, and with cheap power and cheap transport, the development of these products will naturally follow; I visualise an immense future for India when the industrialisation of the country is properly accomplished.

When industrialisation takes place we must take care that it does not follow the industrial revolution in England 150 years ago. Here the people of England were not thought of at all, and many were the abuses and malpractices which crept in. In the modern India I hope the errors of the past will not be repeated. Universal education, the raising of the standard of living and a respect for the rights and freedom of man as embodied in the new draft Constitution should avoid all these errors; this future is not immediately around the corner, but it will come and of that I am convinced.

I am sure that all you gentlemen here to-night appreciate the need for conservation and wise utilisation of our minerals, which once used up can never be replaced. I hope that Provinces and States will realise the need for utmost co-operation with the Centre so that our resources are used to the best advantage, and utilised for local industries before any consideration

is given to their export abroad. There is, as we all know, a paucity of trained personnel in the country, and I am sure that the Mining, Geological and Metallurgical Institute will offer their utmost co-operation in the training of personnel and will give every assistance in the overriding needs of national development.

I will not keep you any longer to-night. I have only spoken briefly on what I hope the future of India will be and of the part I visualise you gentlemen may play in it. I should like to thank you, Mr. President, once again for the kind way you have received me and to express my heartiest thanks for the hospitality you have offered to me to-night.

Extempore Address to the Lady Irwin College, New Delhi, on Founder's Day

19 MARCH 1948

I REALISE it is a great privilege for a mere man to be allowed to enter these portals. I believe that some of my A.D.C.s would have liked to get into this College and looking round at the beautiful students on either side I feel I have been luckier than them.

No—joking apart, of course, I have another and more important reason for being glad to be able to come here to-day, because I would like to address a few remarks particularly to the students.

Some of you may have read in the newspapers the remarks I made in the address at the Silver Jubilee Convocation at the Delhi University, in which I stressed the great importance of the rôle which Universities, Colleges and Schools can and must play in the development of this great country. But Delhi University is only one of a number of similar Universities, whereas the Lady Irwin College is the only one of its kind in India.

Therefore the remarks that I made at the time about the Delhi University apply with far greater force about the Lady Irwin College, and I am quite certain that there should be at least one such College in every Province in India.

Now the policy of the Government is well known, and the President in her remarks referred to it. It is, as you all know, to raise the standard of living of the crores and crores of your fellow-countrymen and countrywomen less favourably situated than yourselves, who live in miserable hovels, ill-clad, under-nourished and illiterate. And the object of the Government is to try and so replan the economy of the country that everyone will be able to earn enough to enable them to

live in modern hygienic houses and cottages, and be adequately clothed, well nourished, kept in good health and become well educated. To do this the Government will have to arrange matters so that there shall be enough houses, cloth, food, doctors, nurses and teachers to meet the demands which the increased standard of living will create.

It is obvious that pioneers are required to spread such a policy throughout the population; and where can these pioneers come from ? They can only come from the fortunate few whose privilege it is to have been properly trained in the various Colleges and Universities of India.

I would therefore like to talk to you about the part which women can play in helping forward the Government's policy. In the first instance we want the greatest possible number of competent, enthusiastic women teachers who can train other girls in the arts of domestic science and mothercraft. I am sure that those who are qualifying here in the Lady Irwin College will do everything in their power to spread this knowledge. But, as I have said before, there are too few of you and more colleges of this type are an urgent necessity.

The question now is how to make the best use of the limited output of the Lady Irwin College. I want to suggest that each of you who qualifies here should make up your mind to give two or three years' service at least as a teacher before you marry. And if you find this is quite impossible, then I suggest that you should test the love of your future husband and try to persuade him to give you up part-time at all events to go on teaching for two or three years.

Although personally I hope and feel that many of you will go in for this high calling of teaching for a much longer period than this, I am not suggesting that you should not marry; indeed looking round at the youth and beauty before me I feel I should probably be lynched by the young men of India if I were to try and deprive them of the chance of finding their wives from among you, who will probably make the best wives and mothers in India.

But I do suggest that you should try and persuade your husband to let you go on and give some service to the country

at this very critical period in our history. After all, it is a woman after she has been married, and particularly after she has become a mother, who is the most experienced and valuable teacher in domestic science and mothercraft. And therefore I feel that this is the very time of life in which we want to keep women in the teaching profession. One of the difficulties would be the care of the children. The setting up of crèches, such as are provided in other countries, would be one way of solving this difficulty. Working husbands can fend for themselves and get their midday meal in office and allow their wives to do part-time work.

Now you don't need me to remind you of the high maternal mortality rate in the country at the present time. The spread of medical science and the growth of the nursing profession are doing much to counteract this, but I think and believe that the knowledge of domestic science and mothercraft will do as much as anything to help. I do suggest that this really is a worth-while cause and one that you should be proud to be of service in to your country.

There are many other ways in which the students of this College can be of help. To begin with, my wife has told me that here in the Lady Irwin College no thought of communalism has ever been met. Here you automatically live in your everyday life the creed for which Gandhiji gave his life, and when you go out of this College you will, I am sure, automatically take with you that same spirit of religious tolerance and communal harmony wherever you go and whether you go on teaching or not. Here is a great opportunity of doing a vital service for your country.

I personally think that the education of women in India has been far too long neglected and it should be given very much higher priority if India is to reach her proper stature. The women who conceived the idea of the Lady Irwin College are much to be congratulated for their vision and for carrying it through. I think it is time for the various Education Departments at the Centre and in the Provinces to take up the work and see that such institutions are established and fostered all over India.

I am glad to hear that with your studies *pari passu* the students take an interest in social service. And I have learned from my wife of how the staff and students helped so magnificently during the dark days of the disturbances, sometimes working all night to cook chupattis to be dropped by air on the hungry refugee columns. And I am told that even to-day the work of sorting, collecting, making, repairing, packing and despatching clothes and blankets from all over India for the refugees is still going on.

I am also glad to hear from those responsible for the conduct and policy of this College that it is their ambition to start a children's school in which student teachers can obtain practical experience; and that it is also hoped to have a handicraft section, because, as you all know, in the Basic Education Scheme, which is the Government policy, each young child will receive training in a handicraft. I sincerely hope that these two establishments can be added to the Lady Irwin College shortly.

Finally I would like to congratulate all those who have received their diplomas and prizes to-day. I am sure it will inspire them to make full use of the qualifications they now hold when they go out into the outer world.

I fear I have done a lot of preaching, which I feel is really entirely unnecessary, because I am sure you will all do exactly what you feel is right without my telling you.

My wife and family and I will continue to follow the doings of the Lady Irwin College with the greatest interest and we wish you all the best of luck.

Extempore Address on the occasion of the Presentation of the Maharaja's Colours to the 2nd Battalion Travancore Nayar Infantry at Trivandrum

22 MARCH 1948

I AM very proud to have the privilege of presenting the new Maharaja's Colour to the 2nd Travancore Nayar Infantry. This Regiment has a long and proud history, having been raised 130 years ago; the first Commanding Officer, Henry Bailey, being the son of Colonel Henry Bailey of the famous Travancore Carnatic Brigade. In 1935 it was re-organised under the Indian State Forces Scheme and was fully trained and ready when the war came. In June 1941 it left the State for service in India, and in February 1942 was doing coastal defence duties at Vizagapatam where it had the unique privilege of being the first troops to fire at the enemy when the Japanese made an air attack on the mainland of India. In June 1944 the unit went overseas to the Persia and Iraq command and came back in May 1946.

My only regret is that during this time it did not come under my command. I had however the 1st Battalion of the Travancore Nayar Infantry under my command. It went to Hong Kong with the Indian States Forces Brigade and with the Royal Marine Commando Brigade it formed the first post-war garrison in Hong Kong where I had the privilege of inspecting it almost exactly two years ago.

Travancore had a record in the last war second to none and I shall be very proud of availing myself of the opportunity of this parade to invest your General Officer Commanding, Major-General Pillai, with the Order of the British Empire. This, besides being a personal tribute to your G.O.C., is a

recognition of the part played by the Travancore State Forces during war.

In the free Dominion of India you will find a friend, for its position and its security rests upon the strength of the Armed Forces of the Dominion and of the States who have acceded to the Dominion of India who have by so doing, arranged to place their Forces at the disposal of the Dominion for overall protection in the event of war. I am therefore particularly gratified to see that in Travancore the State Forces are kept in such a magnificently efficient condition.

Another duty which has fallen to the Indian Army has been to keep law and order in the recent communal troubles in the North. I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate the State on the fact that the Travancore State Forces have not had to be used here in Travancore for similar rôles since there have been no communal troubles in Travancore whatsoever, but rather, peaceful and happy communal conditions.

Finally I should like to take this opportunity—as I will have no other—to congratulate His Highness and His Government on the progressive steps they are taking for the administration of this State of Travancore which has a long history of good government behind it.

Speech read on behalf of His Highness The Maharaja
of Cochin (who was indisposed) by the Second Prince at
a Dinner at Cochin

27 MARCH 1948

I MUST at the outset thank Your Excellencies for accepting the invitation to visit my State and I extend to you a most cordial welcome. This occasion is unique. Cochin has welcomed many Viceroys before; but this is the first time she is getting an opportunity to welcome a Governor-General. The pleasure is immeasurably increased on this occasion because you are the first head of independent India. You are virtually the elected head of this Dominion, for you were chosen by our great leaders. If there was any doubt about your being the popular choice the amazing demonstrations of the populace on August the fifteenth would have set it at rest. It gladdened my heart to read in the papers how Your Excellencies were readily and spontaneously taken to heart by the people of India. Those demonstrations, Your Excellencies, clearly show that there is no pettiness about the Indian nation and that to-day it harbours no ill-will against England. Both India and England should be eternally grateful to that Great Soul, Mahatma Gandhi, for this attitude of the Indian nation. It is a marvel in this age of hate and strife how Gandhiji led this nation to independence without engendering in them hatred and animosity towards England. In this task Mahatmaji undoubtedly was helped by Your Excellency's wise and courageous statesmanship. And the nation has paid its tribute to you by making you, an Englishman, its first constitutional head. I am sure a nation which could forget its old grievances against England and choose an Englishman as its head, will have the vitality to survive the aberrations it is suffering from now and ultimately to create a Great India by following the teachings of the beloved leader it has lost.

Your Excellency, in your person you combine other qualities which must endear you to your country as well as mine. You are connected to the Royal House of England and to its Navy—two institutions of which the Englishmen are proud and the rest pardonably envious. It was in the last decades of your Great Grandmother's reign in England that I began to take an absorbing interest in politics. By following the course of English politics I had learned to cultivate certain ideals and principles. I accepted the Gadi to

put into practice those cherished ideals of mine. The time was opportune and I thought I could, by my example, serve the larger interests of India too. Else I would have hesitated, at this age, to accept the responsibilities of governing my State. It was never with a light heart, nor with any other motive that I decided to introduce full Responsible Government in my State. Circumstances in India and the world are such that the Order of Princes can survive only if they adopt the principles of English Monarchy. If they do so, I believe, in India especially, they can play a very useful part. Indeed I think they can be a source of strength and stability to the nation at large, a thing very urgently requisite for the prosperity and growth of India.

Your Excellency, in as short a time as possible, the new constitution of the State will come into being and an election on adult franchise will be held. There have been certain manifestations of irresponsibility in the State after the transfer of power to the peoples' representatives. I must confess I have not been quite happy about it, though still my faith in democracy has not been shaken. The new constitution is modelled on the English type. For its successful working the prime necessity, Your Excellency will agree, is the existence of an absolutely incorruptible and independent judiciary and an honest and efficient Civil Service uninfluenced by the Executive. I have tried to ensure this. I hope it will be worked in the spirit in which it is framed. If it is possible to link the High Court in the State to the Supreme Court of India it will greatly add to the prestige and efficiency of our judiciary which is already very high indeed. This is a matter in which Your Excellency's experience and influence will be very helpful and I hope the constitutional experts of your Government will be able to find a satisfactory method of creating this desirable link between the Centre and my State.

I am very glad that the Cochin Harbour is going to be a big naval base. This is bound to be of great benefit to the State. It is my hope that the Union Government will afford large opportunities to the people of my State in the Navy and the allied institutions which are going to be built up here.

I can assure you confidently that educated and talented young men are available in plenty in this State as well as the rest of Kerala, who could usefully be drafted into the Service of the Motherland.

Before I close let me mention a word about Her Excellency in particular. I have watched with great interest the noble work of Her Excellency among the refugees. Indian womanhood should be grateful eternally for the great work she is doing among the refugees. But I find such work is nothing new to her. She has been an Angel of Mercy in China and in grateful recognition of her work there, that ancient country has conferred on her the Order of the Brilliant Star.

I don't know whether our country has any such honour to confer on her; but I am sure that they have bestowed on her the nation's everlasting affection and gratitude. And there is nothing greater, I believe, that we could do.

Ladies and gentlemen, let us drink to the health and happiness of Their Excellencies, the Governor-General and the Countess Mountbatten. May they live long to bring India and England closer and together in eternal friendship.

Speech at Dinner at Cochin

27 MARCH 1948

IT has been the desire of my wife and myself before we leave this country in a few months' time to visit those States which stand in the forefront of progress and to thank personally the Rulers who have by their co-operation facilitated the difficult tasks of the last few months. In pursuance of this purpose I had long wished to visit Cochin but I had to postpone this tour in the first instance owing to the tragic loss of our great leader, Mahatma Gandhi and again later owing to important discussions on Kashmir and Hyderabad. I am very glad indeed that circumstances have now enabled us to pay a visit to Cochin and I should like to express my gratitude for the cordiality of our welcome.

This is not the first time I have been fortunate enough to visit Cochin because I visited the Port of Cochin in 1945 when it was being used as a base for my aircraft carriers and landing ships and craft. My wife also visited the State during the last war to see the fine work which was being done at that time in the Combined Services Hospital. We are very glad to be back again.

When as a sequel to the labours of the Cabinet Mission it appeared that the political control of Great Britain was soon to be removed from India, the future of the Indian States became a question for anxious consideration. This arose from the fact that British rule had not extended *de jure* to the States; co-ordination in essential matters as between the States and

British India was obtained through the operation of Paramountcy, but as this never received institutional sanction, the States were in danger of drifting apart from the Provinces as soon as the Paramountcy lapsed. The one promising scheme which might have remedied this position by combining the States with the Provinces in a Federation of India never came to fruition. It was essential that if India was not to be split up into innumerable political units as before the advent of British power, the various units should be brought together into one political structure. His Highness was among the first of the Rulers who, in the common interest of the country, decided to participate in the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly, and I should like to pay my meed of praise for the statesmanship which inspired this decision. But the achievement of a permanent Constitution for India was likely to take time, and it was essential that an interim arrangement for political consolidation should be immediately brought about if the country as a whole was to escape disaster in the difficult period following the attainment of independence. His Highness's prompt decision to accede to the Dominion in an interim Federation was in keeping with his progressive policy in the past. I have no doubt that the unity thus created will be an enduring source of strength to the country. His Highness was also among the first of the Rulers to concede full responsible government to his people. This was the natural fulfilment of a policy which was originally initiated by his sagacious predecessors and was a reward which the people of Cochin had earned by their past performance. I understand that the preliminary measures for the introduction of responsible government are now in progress and I have no doubt that under the wise guidance of His Highness it will bring lasting happiness and welfare to the people of Cochin.

Since the rice exports from Burma were cut off during the war, Cochin, along with other deficit areas in India, has been facing a difficult food situation. Unfortunately the advent of peace has not brought any alleviation of this problem. By the adoption of prudent and far-reaching measures of food control and rationing, Cochin has been able to assure the mini-

mum of sustenance to all sections of the people. I am concerned to learn that the failure of the North-East monsoon has added to the anxieties of His Highness's Government in the present year. The Government of India and the Provincial Governments have done all in their power to assist the State with food imports and His Highness can rest assured that they will continue to render all possible assistance till the trade channels are able to function normally. While on this subject I should like to say a word of appreciation for the co-operation which His Highness's Government have always extended to the Government of India in the administration of their over-all food policy.

I should like also to congratulate Cochin for maintaining communal harmony while bitter conflicts have been causing anxieties elsewhere. I am glad to learn that Cochin continues to keep up the high reputation which it has always had in education, health services, communications and all other matters which serve to advance the welfare of the common man. The recent difficulties in the matter of food supply and the vagaries of the monsoon have given an impetus to the development of agriculture and irrigation. I also learn that much progress has been made in industry and that a promising hydro-electric scheme is being promoted. I hope that under His Highness's fostering care and with the co-operation of his subjects, these schemes will find fulfilment in promoting the welfare of the people. A recent measure which exemplifies the wise and progressive nature of His Highness's administration is the decision to throw open the temples in Cochin to all Hindus irrespective of caste.

Finally I should like to thank His Highness for the kind and generous way in which he has referred to my wife and myself. If we have been able to help the people of India and the States, in any small way to obtain happiness, then our labours have been amply rewarded. I should also like to thank His Highness for the magnificent welcome and splendid hospitality which he has given to my family here.

Ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to join me in drinking to the health and long life of His Highness Maharaja Sri Kerala Varma.

Address of Welcome presented at Cochin

27 MARCH 1948

WITH feelings of joy and admiration, we, the people of Cochin State, hail Your Excellency and Countess Mountbatten of Burma into our midst and offer you a cordial and hearty welcome.

We feel proud of having to greet so distinguished a personality as Your Excellency. Closely connected by birth with the ancient and illustrious Royal House of Britain and brought up in its magnificent traditions, Your Excellency has devoted yourself from early boyhood to the service of the Commonwealth in a manner beneficial to humanity at large. Your Excellency's career from the time you joined the Royal Navy as a mere cadet, while only thirteen years old, to the victorious termination of your arduous task as the Supreme Allied Commander of South-East Asia is filled with great and brilliant achievements, made possible by your indomitable courage, strategic skill, and, above all, your unflinching devotion to duty. Whether in the seas around Crete, where your ship, H.M.S. *Kelly* was sunk and you were left afloat battling against the waves for hours; whether while leading the famous assault into the very heart of "Hitler's Europe" as the Chief of Combined Operations; or whether in withstanding the tide of the Japanese invasion in South-East Asia and ultimately inflicting upon them their greatest defeat on land, your great qualities shone forth and marked you out as a great leader worthy of the highest traditions of the British nation.

But it is by your statesmanship and political sagacity that Your Excellency has become endeared to the people of India and your name will best be remembered in this great land. When the Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, made the announcement in Parliament of your appointment as Viceroy, he stated that you were to be "entrusted with the task of transferring to Indian hands responsibility for the Government of British India in a manner that will ensure the future happiness and prosperity of India". This great mission Your Excellency has been fulfilling nobly and successfully. It was Your Excellency's quick and clear insight into the political condition of this country that prompted you to tackle the great problem of India's freedom, that had baffled solution so long, and to advise His Majesty's Government to effect the transfer of power much earlier than was at one time settled by them. Thus it was that free India was born on 15 August 1947, instead of in June 1948. Your Excellency's

services at this most crucial period in India's history have been invaluable and your efforts as the constitutional head of the new Dominion to shape its future and to allay distress and communal strife can never be forgotten. Especially at this juncture when the whole nation is plunged in sorrow by the tragedy of Mahatma Gandhi's death, your presence and directions exert a wholesome and soothing influence.

We shall be failing in our duty if we do not record our keen and grateful appreciation of the splendid work done by Her Excellency Countess Mountbatten of Burma for the social uplift of the poor. She has thus won the hearts of millions of India.

We regret to have to mention that we are now passing through the most distressing time we have ever had in the matter of our food supply. Every inch of cultivable land in our State is under cultivation and our procurement has reached its peak. In spite of all these efforts we are getting only a meagre ration. We appeal to Your Excellency and the Ministers of the Dominion Government to see that we are given adequate relief in this matter. The starving thousands among us will be grateful if alleviation could be brought to them by the generosity of your Government.

In conclusion we wish Your Excellency long life, health and happiness, so that Your Excellency may continue to serve the cause of humanity and promote its freedom and prosperity.

Reply to Address of Welcome presented at Cochin

27 MARCH 1948

My wife and I are very appreciative of the kind words of welcome with which you have received us and for the magnificent welcome we have had in this State. It has been a very great pleasure to both of us to come back to Cochin again. The last time I was here was three years ago when I came up from Ceylon to see the naval landing craft here; and my wife also came here during the war years to see the splendid work being carried out in the Combined Services Hospital.

The very flattering way you have referred to our work in India has touched us very greatly, although I do not think we deserve all the praises you have bestowed on us. But we have had a very unforgettable time in India and we have received everywhere such kindness and friendship that it has been a joy and pleasure to have tried to give our best in return to help in building up the free India of the future.

You have referred to food supplies to your State. You know my interest in the food situation in the country. I am interested in the food supply position in every part of it and, as in the case of Madras, I shall communicate what you have said to the Food Minister at the Centre. I have no doubt that as in the past, so also hereafter our Food Ministry will render you all possible help. Quite recently in view of your special efforts at procurement, the Food Ministry has accelerated rice supplies to you and they have Cochin's interest, as of other deficit areas, always in view in dealing with the day-to-day situation in the country. May I at the same time venture to suggest that as the rest of India has to make special endeavours to increase production, so also must the State of Cochin try to produce more out of each acre than has been possible so far. A greater intensification and not merely extension of our agricultural activity will go a long way to solve the problem of India's food shortage and so also Cochin's food shortage. In this also, I have every hope our Central Government will assist your State.

Much progress has, I learn, already been made in the development of industries in the State and it will no doubt receive further impetus when the scheme to generate hydro-electric power at the falls on the Chalakudi river comes to fruition. I feel sure that with her first-class port and the fuller exploitation of her great natural resources, which is being planned, Cochin will continue to develop to the greater happiness and prosperity of her people.

In conclusion I should like to say how sorry I am that I am unable to spend longer in your beautiful State, but my time in India is alas very short and in order to see all the Provinces and as many of the large States as possible before

we depart, we have had to cut down our time in each place more than we would have wished. We appreciate very much the chance we have had of seeing you all to-day; thank you very much for your kind welcome and all good fortune to you in the future.

Extempore Address to Officers and Men of the Royal Indian Navy at Cochin

27 MARCH 1948

WELL, I must begin by apologising to the Commanding Officer for breaking up the parade, but those of you who know me will remember that whenever I address a ship's company I like them to break ranks and gather round in the same way as would occur when the lower deck of a ship is cleared and the men gather round the officer who is going to address them from the capstan.

Furthermore, I like to have a good look at all the men I am addressing and I also like them to have a chance of having a good look at me, so that we can get to know one another.

Now those of you who are still in the *Cauvery* and *Kistna* will remember that I came on board your ships in Bombay in December to wish you the best of luck on your trip to England. I understand most of the ship's companies are new, but those who are the same will remember that I told you that you would be the first representatives of free India to set foot in England, and I am proud to learn that you followed my advice and held your heads erect and made so grand an impression there. I have had reports both from Indians and from Britishers who were at Portsmouth during your visit, and all these confirm this opinion; and I would just like to say how pleased I was that you put up such a magnificent show, particularly as the eyes of the world to-day are much more on India than they used to be before she gained her independence.

I am also very glad that the *Cauvery* and *Kistna* went round to Vizagapatam when the Prime Minister launched the first big Indian ship there recently.

I am sorry that the R.I.N. Band are not here to-day but

they have had to go to Delhi for the big exhibition and tattoo which is to take place there in the beginning of April. As you have probably heard the Navy are going to have a field-gun competition in this tattoo which always was the most popular event of the naval and military tournaments in London.

Now for a moment I would like to talk about the future of the R.I.N. Please remember that it was only fourteen years ago that the Royal Indian Marine as it was then called ceased to be an Auxiliary Transport Service and was turned into a fighting service as the Royal Indian Navy; and that fourteen years is a very young age for a navy when compared with the navies of other countries and notably the United Kingdom which go back hundreds and hundreds of years.

But you are the lucky ones—you are the pioneers of the Indian Navy and it is round men like you that the future Indian Navy will be built, because as India develops and becomes economically self-sufficient and rich, so India will want adequate defence forces—an Army, a Navy and an Air Force. Up to now in comparison with her Army, India has had a very small Navy and an even smaller Air Force, but now that she is independent, India will want a balanced defence force in all three services. The three services have got to continue working together in the way they started doing during the war. In this connection I am glad to say that the Indian Military Academy at Dehra Dun is being thrown open this year to Officer Cadets of all three Services. In future therefore the officers of all three Services will be brought up together and will know each other and each other's services, for if there is one thing we learnt from the last war it was that the three services have got to work together as a Combined Defence Force, and that no one single service is self-sufficient by itself.

Up to quite recently the Royal Indian Navy has been a "small ship" Service with no ship bigger than the *Cauvery* or *Kistna*; but you are now going to get a cruiser, and let me tell you that when you have your cruiser, you will be twice the navy you are now. And as the wealth of India increases and her importance increases so I sincerely hope we shall see

aircraft-carriers added to the Indian Navy. Out of 150 thousand men in the Royal Navy, about one-third form part of or work with the Naval Air Service, and the time will come, when, I feel, that India will also want to have a strong Naval Air Service operating from aircraft-carriers. The Royal Indian Air Force is shore based, and can only operate its aircraft from aerodromes on which they are based or to which they have had to be moved, whereas with aircraft-carriers, Indian aircraft can be taken anywhere and operate immediately. The R.I.A.F. and the R.I.N. Air Service should be complementary to each other.

One final word, and it is this. You all know of the troubles and riots that have occurred and that no one man by his own efforts has done more to restore peace and communal harmony than Gandhiji. He gave his life in this cause and I remember when speaking to him one day about the riots that he said he felt sure that the spirit of comradeship which bound all communities of India's defence forces together was a splendid example for the country. The Navy is the country's ambassador abroad, and so here in the Royal Indian Navy it is for you to maintain that spirit of goodwill which should bind all communities—Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims—and it is by the example of the services that so much has already been done in the cause of communal peace.

I wish the very best of luck for the future of the Royal Indian Navy.

Speech by the Governor of Bihar, His Excellency Shri M. S. Aney, at a Dinner at Patna

12 APRIL 1948

(The Governor-General replied to this speech extempore, and no shorthand record was made)

In proposing the toast I don't want to make a long speech.

It is said that when the heart is full, the words are few. Your arrival in this city with Her Excellency Lady Mountbatten and members of the party this afternoon in response to my invitation has indeed filled me and the people of Bihar with great joy. I am sincerely grateful to you for finding at least a day to pay a visit to this historic city, the capital of Bihar. This city of Patna or Patali Putra rivals in fame the cities of Hastinapur and Indraprastha in being the seat of powerful and glorious kingdoms from remote past of which history is able to take notice. I may venture to say that Bihar, like Kurus, is not merely renowned for being the land of warriors and statesmen but also noted for being the birth-place and theatre of action of prophets, philosophers and great preachers of the gospel of peace. This is the land where King Janaka, Yogishwar Yadnya Walkya, Jainmuni Mahavir, Sidhartha Guatama and Samrat Asoka have preached and propounded their philosophies of peace and universal love and have shown mankind the path of righteousness and emancipation. Some of the most renowned Vidyapiths of ancient India were in Bihar. They attracted scholars and seekers of knowledge and truth not merely from India but from many parts of the civilised world also at one time. It is claimed with legitimate pride that no erudite Pundit could aspire for all-India recognition and fame unless he succeeded in getting a certificate of approbation from the learned men of Patali Putra. The author of Kavya Mimansa, a work of high authority on poetics, gives in a couplet the names of Varsha, Vupa Varsha, Panini, Pingal, Vyadi, Vararuchi and Patanjali as having received recognition at the hands of the Pundits of Patali Putra.

I venture to say that Your Excellencies' knowledge of India, with all your hard and close studies of books on India and the fund of wide experience gained in extensive tours throughout India, would have certainly remained incomplete without a visit to the Province of Bihar. This Province claims to be specially favoured of Mahatma

Gandhi also. It was therefore very appropriate that Your Excellency decided to accept my invitation. Your stay is short, too short if I may say so. Patna or Patali Putra, situated on the banks of the Ganges from the point where the river Son enters it from the south to the point where the Gandak joins it from the north, occupies a unique position, geographically, culturally and strategically in northern India. The recent creation of Eastern Pakistan has added to its strategic importance still more.

I very much wish that inside the Government House Your Excellencies should be able to live at ease and feel at home as far as possible, free from all artificial restraints which public functions do to some extent impose. That is why I want to be brief and confine my observations to matters personal rather than public.

I desire to mention that it is my firm conviction that the creation of a new State of Free India on 15 August last became possible only because Your Excellency was at the helm of the affairs in India as the representative of His Majesty's Government. You were the last Viceroy. India, however, expressed her grateful appreciation of your great and invaluable services by ratifying unanimously at a special meeting of the Constituent Assembly your selection as the first Governor-General of Free India.

I have some personal knowledge of your great work as a soldier as I happened to live in Ceylon as India's Representative when Your Excellency was in Supreme Command of South-East Asia Command with its headquarters at Kandy. Your success in that field is brilliant. Your title "Mountbatten of Burma" bears an eloquent testimony to its recognition by His Majesty's Government and the other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. But the success you achieved in negotiations after the termination of the war in India as a peace-maker has, in my humble opinion, even outshone the brilliance of your performance as a soldier. Not only you used your great talents and influence in bringing to an end the British domination in India at a date much earlier than what was originally proposed, but you have also given invaluable assistance to the new Indian Ministry in handling the extraordinarily difficult and dangerous situation that so suddenly and unexpectedly developed soon after that date. Similarly, your advice and skilful guidance have been of great use in solving the problem of the accession of native States to the Indian Union so successfully and expeditiously. Your impending departure at an early date is therefore being very much regretted, not only by those who intimately know the noble part you have hitherto played, but by the people of India as a whole.

We all mourn the sudden and tragic departure of Revered Mahatma Gandhi from this mortal world. That is not a national disaster but a world calamity. You have shown your regard and

affectionate reverence for that Great Saint and Prophet in a unique manner, both during his life-time and afterwards also. He is rightly called the Father of Free India. That he undoubtedly was. Among Christians it is a general custom, I believe, that a new-born child has, besides father, some good person appointed as a god-father. I don't know whether there is any sacramental ceremony performed at the time of appointing a god-father. But I have no doubt that there must be some feasting to mark that important event. Free India is a newly-born babe. Mahatma Gandhi is its father, who is unfortunately no more. I believe that he, out of his deep regard for you and owing to the great affection you have for India, would have certainly approved the idea to proclaim you as the god-father of this newly-born state of Free Indian Union.

I have full confidence that your interest in India's progress and prosperity will continue to grow as Free India grows in age wherever you may be. So also Her Excellency Lady Mountbatten, who has endeared herself to all by her keen and motherly interest in all humanitarian movements, particularly those relating to the uplift and welfare of women and children, will always have a soft and warm corner in her heart for the people of India.

Ladies and gentlemen, I wish both the noble Lord and the noble Lady a long and happy life and an active and successful career of useful service to humanity.

Address at the Convocation of Patna University

13 APRIL 1948

It is a very great pleasure to me to attend the Convocation at Patna University this afternoon and I am deeply honoured to receive the Degree of Doctor of Science, *Honoris Causa*. I have not been to Patna for more than twenty-six years and I have long wished to re-visit this city, because I have always been struck by its importance in the history of India; for Patna, as you all know, is the modern form of the ancient name Pataliputra, and was the capital of many famous rulers, chief among whom was Asoka.

Asoka was a unique combination of soldier, statesman, ruler and humanitarian. It is appropriate that his emblems (the lions and the wheel of Dharma) placed on his famous pillar at Sarnath in the monastery of the Buddha, should now have become the emblems of new India.

Pataliputra has also been the meeting place of various cultures. A Greek colony flourished here. A Greek princess, the daughter of Seleucus, the greatest of Alexander's generals, was married to a King of Pataliputra. Magasthenes lived here as an Ambassador. Later, in Asoka's days, religious embassies issued from here northwards and eastwards to Tibet and China, southwards to Ceylon and westwards to Syria, Egypt, Macedonia and Epirus.

The Province of Bihar was the scene of the ministrations of the Buddha. The place where he attained his enlightenment and other places connected with his life and teachings belong to this Province.

To this Province, also, belonged the University of Nalanda, the foremost Buddhist University in India from the fourth to the twelfth century after Christ. Among its visitors

and pupils were world-famous scholars like Huiien Tsiang and Itsing of China and others. The heads of this University (Chancellors or Vice-Chancellors as we would now call them) were drawn from all over India—a Tamil nobleman from Madras, a scholar from the Andhra Country and another from Assam, etc. Its scholars were invited to Tibet and China on cultural missions. The King of Java and Sumatra endowed a residential home at Nalanda.

It is thus clear that no city in the world could wish for a better cultural background of history, tradition and educational associations.

I am glad that education is being given a high priority among development schemes, and that special attention is being given to improving the quality of education as well as the quantity. It will be necessary to fill in gaps in women's education, scientific and technological studies, art and social sciences. With regard to the first of these subjects—that of women's education—I understand that the women of Patna have been making use of their opportunities to a remarkable degree, and it is gratifying to learn that they have been competing so successfully against the men and have such outstanding achievements to their credit. I wish them all encouragement; but feel at the same time that the men should take note of it and look to their own laurels. Cultural studies are also being re-planned on a strictly non-denominational basis, that is on a secular and international basis.

As is well known, the overall objective of Government policy is to raise the standard of living and to plan such other developments as relate directly to national welfare.

Finance has been a vexed question almost everywhere and particularly during the period of these two World Wars. A recent British committee on post-war university education, for example, felt it necessary to complain that the total grant for the universities in the United Kingdom was the "cost of four hours' war", and that expenditure on university education would give "a better national dividend than on most forms of public works". What is true in the United Kingdom is even more true in India.

The Government of India have realised this and have recently allocated large sums of money to the Provinces for development projects including those of university education. New universities in Saugor, Rajputana, and Utkal, have recently been established, and some more are in the process of formation in Poona, Indore, Assam and Gujarat. Funds being limited, the Government are naturally anxious to see that these developments are carefully planned, co-ordinated and economical. The University Grants Committee of England has conducted its difficult and essential task with great success since its formation in 1919. The University Grants Committee of the Government of India since its inception about three years ago has discharged a similar function in India and has recently had its scope enlarged so as to include besides the three Central Universities of Delhi, Aligarh, and Benares, the Provincial Universities.

Provincial autonomy or university autonomy, or any kind of autonomy for that matter, has to be exercised without detriment to co-ordinated national development. The universities generally are anxious to aid in and be aided by "all-India" developments in education.

You have a great opportunity here of fitting yourselves for life in the future, and on your labours and on the labours of thousands of others like you the future of a great India will depend. So when you go out from here please remember you have a very special responsibility as a result of your privilege of having been here at Patna University. Live up to it and good luck to you.

Speech by the Premier of Bihar, Shri Krishna Sinha, at a Dinner Party at Patna

13 APRIL 1948

(The Governor-General replied to this speech extempore, and no shorthand record was made.)

TO-NIGHT it is my privilege to propose the toast of one of the most distinguished couples in the British Empire. His Excellency the Governor-General, Admiral Mountbatten of Burma, is an outstanding statesman and soldier as well as a person of great charm. When the British Empire was in peril, he was the first commando leader. His was the Herculean task of clearing the Japanese out of Burma and the Far East after they had infiltrated widely. When these great tasks were achieved with that combination of efficiency and daring which can only be called Mountbattenesque, our distinguished guest was called upon to shoulder perhaps the heaviest single problem a statesman has ever been entrusted with in history—a task which many attempted and failed to achieve—the task of ushering political freedom to a nation of 400 million which was on the verge of frustration and hostile with suspicion. Whatever the reasons, this great act of withdrawal will resound in the long history of the British as their single greatest contribution to the cause of righteousness. The transfer of power involved problems and dangers that would have quailed most men. You, Sir, took it up and saw it through. And you did it in your characteristic way in half the time allotted to you. The result is that you find me to-day, a rebel and sworn enemy of British Government, welcoming you, representative of the same British Empire. The period that followed the transfer of power to Indian hands has not been free from travails and sufferings culminating in the assassination of the peerless prophet of mankind who was among us till lately and who laid down his life to our eternal shame—as a sacrifice to our communal hatred. But the fact that emerges in bold relief is the sincerity, daring and consummate statesmanship with which you at the helm of affairs, Sir, have helped the transition.

I feel that the world needs to-day not only the services of a far-sighted statesman like yourself who recognises the claim of every country to be free but also the use of the principles of truth and non-violence practised in his personal life and preached to the world by Mahatma Gandhi. For although the war has been won and lost,

peace has not been won either by victors or by the vanquished and the world appears perilously nearly losing it once again. There is unrest in the world all over. It seems that the lessons of the two great wars have not yet been learnt. The basic cause, to my mind, of all this unrest and suspicion seems to be mad craze for power to rule, which apparently has possessed the minds of men, who do not seem to realise that a nation cannot be intolerant of the freedom of others and remain itself free. It is only by the world showing the wisdom that you have shown in dealing with India, and by nations and individuals not only professing loyalty to the doctrine of Satya and Ahimsa, but putting the same in actual practice that the salvation of the world can be attained. Associated as you were closely with Mahatma Gandhi, I feel confident that you will play a great part in giving peace to the world.

The energy and zeal with which Her Excellency the Countess Mountbatten has initiated, supervised and seen through humanitarian organisations—alas, needed so much these days—have won the hearts of many Indians. She has shared your responsibilities and duties in a manner expected of an ideal wife.

We in Bihar are glad Your Excellencies found it possible to visit us. We wish you could have visited us oftener or stayed longer or seen more of the Province. You have heard our Governor, Shri Aney, an eminent Sanskrit scholar, speak of the intellectual glories of Bihar's past. I would like to add that Bihar in the past was glorious not only intellectually but politically too. It was here that the first Indian Empire was founded by Asoka, embracing Kandhar on the north and even Ceylon in the south. It is in the land of such a Bihar that I welcome you to-night. As one who has spent thirty years of his life in the dust and din of political battles and who knows Bihar well, I can assure you that Your Excellencies will long be remembered in this Province for your distinguished past, your great contribution to Indian history in making, your personal charm and perhaps above all for loving one whom Bihar worshipped—Mahatma Gandhi. Reports say that Your Excellencies may be leaving India. We can only wish that your stay had been longer, for clearly only a mission of the highest importance can justify taking Your Excellencies away from India yet. If that should happen, we of Bihar wish Your Excellencies God-speed.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I call upon you to drink the Toast of our distinguished guests, Their Excellencies the Governor-General and the Countess Mountbatten of Burma.

Address to the Annual General Meeting of the Indian Red Cross Society and the St. John Ambulance Association

20 APRIL 1948

I AM delighted to welcome you all to this meeting. Many of you, impelled by your deep interest in the work of the Red Cross and St. John, have come here from far away parts of the country, and to them I extend a particular welcome.

The great events of the year 1947, which witnessed the historic achievement of freedom by this great country, were unfortunately marred by the misery which fell to the lot of the vast numbers involved in the mass migrations. But it must be a matter of real gratification to us all that during those troubled days our humanitarian organisations bent all their energies to minister to the needs of the sick and wounded refugees in camps and hospitals.

It is significant that in this emergency service the Red Cross, St. John and other voluntary social service bodies have worked together towards alleviation of suffering under the co-ordinating organisation called the United Council for Relief and Welfare started under the Chairmanship of my wife in September. I am very glad that, ably supported by Mrs. Matthai and Sir Usha Nath Sen, she was able to bring together so many national organisations at a time of great trial, and the results achieved have fully justified the Council's objectives.

Sir Patrick Spens and Sir Usha Nath Sen have given you a survey of the various activities undertaken by the two bodies and I should like to pay a tribute to all Red Cross and St. John workers who have contributed to a record of strenuous service often rendered under difficult conditions and thus upheld the highest traditions of selfless help.

My wife during her tours has seen in refugee camps, hospitals and other spheres the multifarious duties performed by members of the St. John Ambulance Brigade who have come in many batches to Delhi and East Punjab from Bengal, Bombay and other places and has complimented them on having so loyally answered the call for refugee relief work. The cheerfulness with which St. John volunteers rushed to render first aid wherever they were called has brought them well earned praise from the authorities and the gratitude of those they helped. As Sir Patrick has pointed out, the prompt help given to Pakistan-bound refugees injured in the train crash near Karnal during the night of 10-11 October, and recently in February the Bannu refugees injured at Gujrat, stands out conspicuously amongst the many incidents of devotion to service during the last eight months.

The crisis demonstrated once again the value of training in First Aid, Home Nursing and other health subjects and it is good to know that notwithstanding disturbed conditions, the Provincial, State and Railway St. John Centres trained a large number of persons in these very useful subjects. I trust that appreciating the ever-present need for this training to supplement the country's medical facilities, the St. John Centres will continue to conduct classes in large numbers so that at all homes there is someone who can act as an intelligent nursing aide and in all factories, offices, shops, etc., someone is at hand to render proper first aid in case of an accident.

The Indian Red Cross has done magnificent work indeed in providing hospital and other comfort supplies to camps and hospitals whenever the official stocks ran low or were not readily available in places where they were required urgently. Many times during the last year have I heard my wife say how relieved she had felt after visits to various institutions to know that she had only to tell the Red Cross of their needs to be certain of an immediate response. We may justly feel proud that our Red Cross headquarters is always prepared to meet sympathetically all requests for help that are made to it.

The speedy movement from Madras and Bangalore to

Delhi last winter of the large supplies of surplus medical and other stores given to the Society by the British Red Cross and St. John War Organisation earlier in the year was an excellent job of work. These stores, a share of which was readily sent for use in Pakistan, helped greatly in healing many sick and injured refugees whose health had been impaired by long marches, difficult journeys, and living in the open in improvised camps.

Another sphere in which Red Cross help has been greatly appreciated was in the organisation of services for mothers and children in the camps. Dr. Pandit, Director of the Society's Maternity and Child Welfare Bureau, during frequent visits to the Kurukshetra camp gave valuable assistance to the Health Ministry. We are sorry that she has been unwell of late and hope that she will soon be fit again to continue her excellent work for women and children.

Medical stores, milk powder, blankets, warm clothing, etc., sent by the Society to the newly-formed branch in Jammu and Kashmir State have met the urgent requirements of the refugees in the State. In this connection I must pay a tribute to Dr. Otto Wenger, Delegate of the International Red Cross Committee, and Mr. Horace Alexander and Mr. Leslie Cross of the Friends Service Unit, for having made possible through patient negotiations the repatriation of a large number of refugees from Alibeg, Muzaffarpur, Bahawalpur and other places. Dr. Wenger's presence here during the last few months has been of special value.

Amongst its various activities I want to pay special tribute to the help given by the Red Cross in the setting up of the Displaced Persons' Enquiries and Search Service in the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation to relieve the anxiety of refugees by helping contact between separated families and missing relations. Red Cross welfare workers in the camps are doing fine work in this field and I hope that wherever refugees have found shelter Red Cross Branches will give this Service the support it deserves.

In anxious times, it is very pleasing to note the solidarity displayed by the Red Cross family in helping the afflicted in

different parts of the world. This spirit has been amply demonstrated by the British, American, Belgian, Canadian and Australian Red Cross Societies and the Red Lion and Crescent Society of Iran which have sent us valuable supplies for refugee relief, and though fully occupied with relief at home the Indian Society too has played its part by sending help to several needy Societies abroad.

It is pleasing also to note that imbued with true Red Cross spirit the negotiations for partitioning of the Society's funds with the newly-formed Pakistan Red Cross are going on in a friendly manner. I hope that they will be so concluded that both the neighbourly Societies may work in perfect amity in discharging their common humanitarian duties.

It is noteworthy that Red Cross services to Military Hospitals including the Welfare Services have been maintained satisfactorily and the Homes for the disabled continue to provide comfort and treatment to ex-servicemen who unfortunately were left with serious disabilities from active service. We are very happy that the Joint War Organisation's funds are now to vest with the Indian Red Cross Society and St. John Ambulance Association and these services will also henceforth be the responsibility of the Society.

Both Sir Usha Nath Sen and Sir Patrick Spens have referred to the magnificent work of our Secretary-General, Sardar Bahadur Balwant Singh Puri. I, too, would like to thank and congratulate him for his untiring efforts.

We are sure you will all miss Sir Patrick's genial personality and I would like to thank him on behalf of us all for the very great interest he has shown in St. John's work in India during the past three years. I am very glad that our Honourable Health Minister, in spite of her multifarious duties, has accepted the post of Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Indian Council of the St. John Ambulance Association. I am sure that with her guidance and help, and under the trusted leadership of Sir Usha Nath Sen, the work of the two bodies will continue to grow.

My wife and I are grateful for the generous expressions regarding our association with the St. John and the Red

Cross in India. We have deemed it a great privilege to be closely connected with these two Associations. As you know, we shall only be here for another couple of months, but I am sure that wherever our paths may lie in the future, we shall always continue to take the closest interest in the St. John Ambulance Association and Brigade in India and the Indian Red Cross Society. We wish them every success in their benevolent tasks.

Attestation Parade of the Madras Regiment at Wellington (South India)

27 APRIL 1948

I AM particularly glad to have had this opportunity of being present at the Attestation Parade of the Madras Regiment to-day. Not only because this Regiment is the oldest Regiment in the Indian Army, but more particularly because three of your Battalions served under my command in South-East Asia during the recent war.

The 1st and 4th Battalions were in Burma and the 1st and 2nd Battalions in Singapore and all three worthily upheld the traditions of your Regiment.

In the dark days of last September during the riots in Delhi the 2nd and 4th Battalions were rushed up and carried out the most difficult duty a soldier can be called upon to perform, namely that of internal defence, in the most exemplary manner as I can personally testify since I visited their posts. The 1st Battalion is now serving in Kashmir with great distinction.

You young men are therefore entering a great Regiment and I am glad to see that you and the other men present on parade have shown that smartness of bearing which is worthy of your Regiment.

The Indian Army has a record second to none and I was very proud to have had so large a part of it under my command in Burma. You now have the privilege of serving a free and independent India.

Good luck to you.

(His Excellency's Speech was afterwards read out in Tamil.)

Reply to Addresses of Welcome presented by the Municipal Council of Bangalore City and the Municipal Commission of the Civil Station, Bangalore

27 APRIL 1948

IT has been a great pleasure to my wife and me to receive these addresses from the President and Members of the Bangalore City Municipal Council and from the President, Vice-President and Members of the Municipal Commission of the Civil Station, Bangalore. We should like to thank you very much for your kind words of welcome and for the very nice things you have said about us. If we have been able to accomplish anything in the comparatively short time we have been in India it is because both of us have received on all sides the greatest co-operation and understanding from everyone with whom we have come into contact. I in the political sphere, and my wife in the sphere of medical, nursing and welfare work, have at all times been received with the greatest friendliness and kindness, and in these circumstances we have naturally been encouraged to give of our best in return.

I was most interested to hear that the foundation stone of this historic hall was laid by King Edward VII when he was Prince of Wales in 1878 because my father was a young naval officer on his staff and must have been present on the occasion.

This is not our first visit to Bangalore. By a coincidence I was here first when I was a junior staff officer with King Edward VII's grandson the Prince of Wales over twenty-six years ago. I also came here during the last war, when the Cantonment was a big Army Centre and in addition the air-fields here were a main centre of Allied Air Forces' activities.

My wife also visited the hospitals at Bangalore and Jallahalli and so it is a great pleasure to us to come back here again in more peaceful and happy conditions, for I have always thought that Bangalore is one of the best laid out and most attractive cities in India. Certainly there is evidence everywhere of careful town-planning and, blessed as you have rightly said with the most salubrious climate, I see no reason why the city should not continue to make great progress.

I was interested to hear of the various advances which are being made, not only in housing, but in all the many other aspects of municipal life. I am not at all surprised to hear of such progress, because Mysore State, in company with the other major States of the south, has long been famed for its progressive outlook in all directions, and for the high standards it has set in its social activities.

I am sure that States such as Mysore have a big part to play in the India of the future. The last year has seen great changes in the structure of the Indian States. I have always been in favour of mediatisation for small States and the formation of larger viable units. Mysore, of course, continues to stand as a major State in its own right, and with the recent constitutional changes I am sure you can all look forward to increased prosperity and progress.

We are very sorry that our stay in the State, and particularly in Bangalore, is so short. But we have been anxious to see as much of India as possible, and particularly all the Provinces and the major States. This has naturally curtailed the amount of time we can spend in each place, for, as you all know, we leave India for good in eight weeks' time. But we shall take away with us very happy memories of our tours through India, and especially of the warmth and friendliness of the greeting you have given us here. I should like once again to thank both of you municipal organisations for the kind way you have received us and to wish you all the best of good fortune in the future.

Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Soldiers' Home at Bundi

7 MAY 1948

WHEN my friend and late companion-in-arms, the Maharao Raja of Bundi, invited me to pay him a visit I gladly accepted but I intentionally postponed that visit until after his State had merged with the Rajasthan Union in order to be able to pay public tribute to his high-minded and patriotic action.

No one who stops for one moment to consider the feelings of those rulers who like His Highness have voluntarily given up the ruling powers which their ancestors held for generations can fail to realise the full extent of the sacrifice they have made.

The people of the States concerned and indeed all the rest of us in India have cause to be grateful to these Princes and I am glad to have been able to come at this time to record my expression of appreciation for all time, for the date of this ceremony to-day will mark the period when this visit took place.

I am doubly glad therefore to have the opportunity of participating in this ceremony to-day and to have been received by such a smart guard of ex-soldiers, because as a serving officer anything connected with ex-servicemen is dear to my heart.

I am told that this Soldiers' Home is intended to serve as a hostel for ex-soldiers visiting Bundi City for short periods and as a club and meeting place for ex-soldiers living in Bundi.

I am also informed that many of those who will use the home will be ex-soldiers from other parts of India who have migrated to Bundi under the Land Colonisation Scheme for ex-soldiers.

I hope that ex-servicemen of the other two Services will also come within the orbit of this organisation.

I have a close interest in the welfare of Indian ex-servicemen, because in my last appointment as Supreme Allied Commander, South-East Asia, the majority of the forces serving in the Command came from the Indian Army. The magnificent performance of the Indian Army during the Burma Campaign, and its subsequent work in Allied Countries after the defeat of Japan will never be forgotten.

It was a very great pleasure to me to have His Highness the Maharao Raja of Bundi serving in my Command and his outstanding war service, culminating in the award to him of that coveted decoration for gallantry, the Military Cross, by His Majesty the King, is well known to you all.

As His Highness has just said more than two thousand men from the State followed his example and served with the Indian Army which is a figure which compares favourably with that of other States who sent actual State Units to the war. It is clear therefore that this Soldiers' Home will prove of real value and I wish all of those who will be connected with it in the future every good fortune.

I shall now have great pleasure in laying the foundation stone.

Speech by the Rev. F. M. Drake, Principal, Bishop Cotton School, Simla

21 MAY 1948

It is with more pleasure and sense of privilege than you can possibly imagine that I welcome Your Excellencies to our School to-day. We welcome with you His Excellency the Governor of the East Punjab and Lady Trivedi and we welcome Doctor Bhargava, Premier of the East Punjab, together with Mrs. Bhargava and the host of other distinguished guests.

But it is more to His Excellency the Governor-General of India and Lady Mountbatten that our welcome and attention is specially directed. You all know, I think, that for many years, years almost past the telling, Their Excellencies' distinguished predecessors have by their kindness, and, I believe, I dare say by their affection, kept our courage and our purpose high. The end of such distinguished patronage must inevitably be a matter of the greatest regret. But in this case there is the greater cause for sorrow, in that, whether they willed it or no, Their Excellencies have profoundly endeared themselves to us here in Simla.

Now that they are so shortly to leave us, and that so soon they will no longer have an official position here in India, I have the courage to say what I think. How could one have believed that two people, so distinguished and so preoccupied with the mountainous task, would yet have caused so little alarm in the heart of the common man; would have put him so completely at his ease; herein lies the true quality of greatness. And herein the quality which calls out our greatest loyalty.

Our welcome to them this afternoon is as sincere as our sorrow that we must lose them.

Before I ask His Excellency to address us and present the Flag, there are three things I wish to tell you.

1. B.C.S. still stands four square. We have past successfully through a great storm and I believe our future is secure. That this should be so is in great measure due to the loyalty of my Staff, whom in your presence I hereby thank on behalf of myself and the Governing Body.

2. The results of the recent School Certificate Examination, held last December, were good.

3. At the close of the ceremony our visitors in the body of the

Hall are asked to follow the Flag out, and to make their way as rapidly as possible into the Chapel so that the minimum of time may be wasted.

Many of you have not yet seen our boys' Common Rooms and I hope that after tea you will take the opportunity of visiting them.

Extempore Speech at the Bishop Cotton School, Simla

21 MAY 1948

ONE of the first speeches I made to any School or University in India was to Bishop Cotton School on 13 October 1947. Since then I have given addresses at a number of other Schools and Universities. But this will be the only school to which I shall have given a second address. Incidentally, I expect it will be the last one that I shall give to a school before I relinquish, with a sad heart, the office of Governor-General of India on 21 June. I feel, however, it is particularly fitting that I should be giving this second address to Bishop Cotton School for it has been so closely associated with the Viceroys and Governors-General of India in the past. Two of them, Lord Canning and Sir John Lawrence, assisted at its launching nearly a hundred years ago. Among others who have taken an active interest in the School have been Lords Curzon, Chelmsford, Irwin, Willingdon, Linlithgow and Wavell.

Throughout its long history this School has rendered faithful service by educating boys of many nationalities according to the highest English public school standards. The record of the Old B.C.S. Boys has shown, by their courage, competence and devotion to duty, how great a service a school of this type can render.

Throughout this long period, the School has done its work under the Union Jack. Now that the flag of the Indian Union flies in its place, the School has in my opinion an even more important duty to perform. I did not emphasise this

aspect during my last speech here, but I have been talking about the policy of the Government of India in some of the addresses at other educational establishments. Therefore, what I wish to say now is not exactly "news" in the newspaper sense of the word, but it is nevertheless probably news to you and certainly of considerable importance to all here at B.C.S.

To begin with, I would like you to understand what the main policy of the Government of India is for the future development of this great country. It is very simple, but very important. It is just this : to raise the standard of living of the crores and crores of people living in this country in less fortunate circumstances than yourselves, and to raise it as much as possible and as soon as possible.

His Excellency then spoke on the future policy of the Government of India along the same lines as his address at the Doon School on page 125, and concluded as follows :

I know that boys here come from all over the world, from the United Kingdom, from East Africa, from Iran, from Afghanistan, from Ceylon and from Burma. The remarks which I am now making are, however, particularly addressed to that ever-increasing number who come from the Dominion of India itself, and to those others, particularly British boys, who may be making their lives out here in India. But many of these remarks will also apply to the boys from countries like Ceylon and Burma which have recently got their freedom and have the same problems to face as India.

I have learnt with great pleasure from the Governors of the School that B.C.S. is flourishing and that many sons of Government servants are now being educated here. As I said before, this must unfortunately be my last visit to the School, and I feel that no parting gift could more completely express the high purpose for which this School has always stood and will I trust always continue to stand than the flag of that country to which their allegiance is now due. In giving this flag I am sure I need not ask you to honour it. The most thrilling experience any boy can have is to be here at this moment fitting himself to help make India great. That is why

I feel that B.C.S. is so terribly important. There are all too few establishments like yours. From here the great India of the future will grow. It is up to you. Good luck.

Speech by Shri G. C. Chatterji, Director of Public Instruction, East Punjab, and Education Secretary, East Punjab Government, at the Bishop Cotton School, Simla.

21 MAY 1948

I CONSIDER it a great privilege to have been called upon to propose a vote of thanks on this memorable occasion. I will venture to do so in a dual capacity, first as a member of the Board of Governors of the Bishop Cotton School, Simla, and secondly as the Head of the Department of Education in this Province. From the point of view of the School, Sir, the ceremony which you have performed to-day, marks the completion of one epoch, and the beginning of a new one. This school was intended by its pious founder to provide a Christian education for the sons of Europeans and Anglo-Indians. But for many years past, it has never followed a policy of exclusiveness, and its doors have been always open to Indian children whose parents wished to obtain for them the benefits of the special facilities which this school provided. Indian boys who entered this school shared equally in all the privileges, as well as the responsibilities, which membership of this institution implied. Many of them rose to school offices of distinction both on the academic as well as the athletic side. Several of them became prefects, captains of teams, heads of houses, and even head boys of the school, and in other ways contributed to that rich heritage, on which this school lives and flourishes.

But essentially in the past, the purpose of the school was to disseminate the type of education which represented the best in the British tradition. To-day this school and many others of its kind, are called upon to discharge a new function, a function which, if I may say so, requires a broader vision, a greater determination and capacity of adaptation to a quickly changing political and social environment. In the Free India of the future this school while preserving what is best in the British scholastic tradition, must also open itself out to cultural and social influences which represent what is best in the Indian tradition.

That is why I venture to suggest, Your Excellency, that the ceremony which you have performed to-day, marks the beginning of a new epoch in the history of this school. It is under the Flag of Free

India, and in true loyalty and devotion to that Flag and all it represents that the future of the school lies. And it is indeed appropriate, that you, Sir, who have played so distinguished a part in those momentous decisions, which have led India to freedom, should have also shown us the path, that we in our smaller sphere have to follow, by presenting to us the Flag of India.

Your Excellency, Governor-Generals and Viceroys are apt to be a source of endless trouble to the school-boy. The order of their succession, their various exploits and edicts, are inclined to get mixed up in the little brain already chock-full of many other things of more immediate concern to himself. It is only rarely that the dull page of history is livened up by the rise of a great personality, the story of whose deeds becomes a romance of human achievements, and lives on in the memory not only of schoolboys who have to swot for examinations, but also in the memory of all mankind.

If I may be permitted to say so, the brief period of your Viceroyalty and Governor-Generalship of India will form one such glorious chapter of history, not only for India, but also for England, for you smoothened out the pathway of India to Freedom, and at the same time demonstrated that Britain prizes freedom not only for its children, but also for those of an alien race. You with your courage and vision have thrown back the curtain of distrust and suspicion which had been growing up between our two peoples, and you have made possible the promise of a lasting and equal friendship between them in the years to come. May this school be a practical means for the growth of that friendship, between those who come of the British or the European race and those who come of Indian or of Eastern stock, and may all that is best of the British tradition fuse and mingle here with all that is best in the heritage of India.

Your Excellency, you have laid us under a great debt of gratitude as a result of your presence amongst us to-day. Our thanks are equally due to Her Excellency the Countess Mountbatten whose countless good deeds have endeared her to all in India.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I beg to propose a hearty vote of thanks to His Excellency the Governor-General and to Her Excellency the Countess Mountbatten, which I am quite sure you will carry through with acclamation.

Speech by His Excellency Sir Chandulal Trivedi,
Governor of the East Punjab, at a Dinner
at Barnes Court, Simla.

21 MAY 1948

It is a great privilege, and yet a greater pleasure to my wife and myself to accord Your Excellencies a most hearty welcome to Simla, the Capital of our new Province of East Punjab. We are most grateful to Your Excellencies for having spared time to be with us this evening in spite of your many preoccupations during your all too brief a stay in Simla.

I do not propose to refer here to the complex and baffling political situation which faced Your Excellency on your assumption, in March 1947, of the distinguished office of Viceroy and Governor-General of India, nor do I propose to refer to the superb statesmanship, the great love and understanding of our people and the matchless energy and drive which Your Excellency brought to bear upon that situation. I would only say that in less than ten weeks after your arrival Your Excellency resolved the political deadlock and in another ten weeks has had completed the difficult and complicated preparatory processes which culminated in the complete transfer of power on 15 August and in the establishment of a free India on that historic date. Our people, through our Constituent Assembly, invited Your Excellency to be the first Governor-General of a free and independent India and, as far as I am aware, there is no parallel to such an invitation in history. History will, I am sure, rank Your Excellency as the greatest Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

Events in East Punjab moved with tragic and breathless rapidity from 15 August and, throughout the dark days and weeks which followed, the Indian Union, headed by Your Excellency and our Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, gave me and my colleagues all possible support in restoring law and order and in dealing with the problems arising from the mass movements of populations to and from East Punjab. My colleagues and I can never forget Your Excellency's personal sympathy for and assistance to us in the deliberations of the Emergency Committee of the Indian Cabinet which was set up in September 1947 and to which we from the East Punjab came with all sorts of requests, sometimes amounting to almost peremptory demands.

Your Excellency has all the gifts with which gods can endow a

mere man, but I am not indulging in the art of adulation or even attempting to practise chivalry when I say that in all your achievements in India and elsewhere Your Excellency owes less to gods or even your fine qualities of head and heart than to your gracious lady Her Excellency the Countess Mountbatten of Burma. What a fine and mighty benignant influence has Her Excellency been throughout India! Her irresistible charm of manner, her innate sweetness and goodness, her intense affection for our people, however humble their wordly station may be, have endeared her to all of us in East Punjab and, frankly, I do not know where we would have been but for the tremendous help Her Excellency gave us in her capacity of Chairman of the United Council of Relief and Rehabilitation. I am not in the secrets of the Indian Cabinet to say whether Your Excellency was responsible for setting up the Emergency Committee to which I referred a little while ago, but I know that the idea of a United Council was entirely Her Excellency's. Throughout the last nine months she has toiled day and night in this good cause of relief and rehabilitation. Minding not heat, nor dust, nor rain, Her Excellency visited all our refugee camps in East Punjab, not once, not twice, but several times and gave, not only most valuable suggestions, but most sterling assistance in all shapes and forms. Her Excellency's visits to our camps have been a source of great inspiration and encouragement to my wife and our refugee organisation, and we in East Punjab will never forget the immeasurable debt we owe to Her Excellency. I often had the privilege of sitting next to Her Excellency in the meetings of the Emergency Committee. I have already referred to the help Your Excellency gave us in that Committee, but after all Your Excellency is a constitutional Governor-General with limitations inherent in that position. For Her Excellency, however, there were no constitutional limitations to her support to us in the East Punjab and me particularly, and I will always remember the great encouragement she gave to me in all my pleadings for East Punjab, no matter how insistent were some of those pleadings.

It is sad to think that Your Excellencies will be leaving India in a month's time. Your Excellencies will always remain enshrined in our hearts. To my wife and myself, Your Excellencies' departure will be a great personal loss. We have received many kindnesses from Your Excellencies both in Orissa and East Punjab—kindnesses which we can never repay except with gratitude—and we are sure that wherever Your Excellencies are you will never forget India or our new and struggling Province of East Punjab. We are also confident that we can always count upon Your Excellencies as good friends of India. Your Highnesses, ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to join with me in drinking to the health of Their Excellencies the Earl Mountbatten of Burma, Governor-General of India, and Countess Mountbatten of Burma.

Extempore Speech at Dinner given by His Excellency the Governor of East Punjab at Barnes Court, Simla

21 MAY 1948

I AM never very fond of after-dinner speaking, and particularly not if I have to take an active part in it myself. But for once I am glad to have the opportunity of standing up and speaking because I want to tell your Governor and all of you here what I feel about him and about the East Punjab.

To begin with, I would like to thank His Excellency very much indeed for the kind things which he has said. As regards myself, I cannot accept them as deserved, for they are altogether too generous. For my wife, I have no hesitation in accepting them, for I agree with every word he has said.

She asked me so say to-night how deeply she appreciated the help and the co-operation that she has received throughout the East Punjab—from the Governor and the Ministers, down to the lowest rank of officials, in each of the Districts, and without which she says that she could have achieved very little, and she wished me to express her thanks and appreciation.

I would like to return the compliment and turn the tables on your Governor by telling him that he is one of those fortunate Governors who has a wife, to help him in his very difficult tasks, and in Lady Trivedi, I am sure, he has got a very worthy helpmate, and one who will be of as great assistance in the future as she has been in the past.

I first got to know Sir Chandulal Trivedi when he was Secretary of the Defence Department, when I came out to South-East Asia in 1943. Now the set-up was rather curious in those days. Until I came out, the same man was in command of the base and of the theatre of operations—the base

at that time, of course being India, and the theatre of operations Burma. Field-Marshal Wavell and later Field-Marshal Auchinleck were in command of the operations of only British and Indian troops and air forces. The American Forces were under the command of General Stilwell; and the Chinese in Burma and India were also under his command. The British Fleet was directly under the Admiralty in London. So it was decided to set up a Supreme Allied Commander who would command all these various allied units of the navies, armies and air forces for the campaign in the South-East Asia Theatre, and in doing so it was decided to split the operational command from the command of the base.

I well remember at the Quebec Conference, when the news was sprung on me that I was to be the Supreme Allied Commander, that the Americans protested at the separation of the operational command from the command of the Base, and wanted the Commander-in-Chief, India, to be under the Supreme Allied Commander. The British Chiefs of Staff resisted this suggestion saying that it was constitutionally impossible to place the Commander-in-Chief, India, under any Commander who did not owe allegiance to the Government of India.

The consequent position was fraught with difficulty. It was essential to avoid being at cross purposes. However the situation was saved by the fact that on every level in South-East Asia Command and India Command, officers got on admirably with each other. I was particularly worried about the Civil Service element of G.H.Q., India, for we had no counterpart to this in South-East Asia Headquarters. Here it was that your present Governor proved invaluable, because he went out of his way to help establish excellent relations. I have no hesitation in saying the set-up between India Command and South-East Asia Command worked better than if India Command had been placed under my orders, because India Command made voluntary sacrifices to help the fighting men in the theatre of operations which I would never had the heart to order them to make.

The next time I came across him he was Governor of

Orissa. I remember that at the Governors' Conference last April, every time we came to Orissa everything was reported as perfect; the Governor had no complaints or worries. And so I was not sorry when the Prime Minister suggested that Sir Chandulal Trivedi should go to the East Punjab, for if you think of the various problems which confronted this Province, you will agree that the East Punjab was the most important.

The Government of the East Punjab has had to face by far the most difficult task of any Provincial Government in either Pakistan or India. Out of the eleven Provinces of the undivided India only two were to be completely partitioned, and a third, Assam was to have a part taken away and handed to East Bengal. So it was quite clear that the four new Provinces of East and West Punjab and Bengal were going to be difficult ones. Two difficulties might face them; they might lose their administrative capital and administrative machinery. Secondly they might be faced with riots and troubles and mass migration. Let us take West Bengal first. The administrative capital, Calcutta, was left in West Bengal and thanks to Gandhiji's efforts there peace was maintained. In the case of East Bengal they lost their administrative capital, and I have no doubt that this caused them great difficulties but the main thing was that they had peace.

The Punjab, as you all know, was rent with riots, massacres and mass migrations, and that would have been enough to make the task of the Government of either half extremely difficult. But the East Punjab was the half that had no capital, for Lahore went to the West Punjab. Simla was too far away for the seat of a Government which had to deal with riots and refugees in the plains—a capital had to be found on the plains.

Out of all the Provincial Governments of India, this is the Government which had the most severe task to face. The strength of a chain is the strength of its weakest link: if it breaks, the chain is parted. The weakest link of India has been, up to now, the East Punjab, through no fault of yours, but through the circumstances I have already described. It was upon East Punjab that the eyes of the Central Government most earnestly turned. I am sure it is true to say that

the Central Government have devoted more time, more trouble, and I think, more sympathy and understanding and practical help to the troubles of the East Punjab than any other Province.

If the East Punjab can grow into a healthy, fine, well administered Province, nothing can go far wrong with India as a whole. I shall watch with the greatest interest and sympathy what happens here, knowing that this is the thermometer by which the temperature of the country can be told. I have no doubt that, when all the irrigation schemes such as the Bakra Dam project get under way, this Province can achieve a secure and fine position.

The Governor has referred to the meetings of the Emergency Committee of the Cabinet. Originally we held a meeting every day and the East Punjab Government sent their representative every Friday. I can think of no single occasion in the two months these meetings took place, when the East Punjab representatives arrived on the right day or at the right time! It was not of course their fault—it was always due to something else—either bad flying weather or a mechanical failure. In fact the only day they turned up on time was when my wife gave them a lift in my aircraft.

Finally, I would like to say a word now about Simla as a town and a place. Simla has always been the summer home of my predecessors, but we have been here more than you probably realise. This is our sixth visit since we came out in March last year. In those six visits I think we will have spent a total of about one month in Simla out of the fifteen we have spent in India; so we know it quite well, and in particular we know the town itself and the district round about; but I must confess that what we like best is our little house at Mashobra.

Recently we persuaded the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Nehru, to come up for three days, and this is the first time since I came out here that I have been able to make him stop work. He too expressed a great devotion for the place.

I am afraid that I have talked a long while in rather a rambling way, but believe me it is from the heart. When we go away in a month's time we shall be sad, terribly sad,

because we have loved everything in India. Everyone has been so kind and so helpful.

When we go to England we will continue to take the greatest interest in what goes on out here, and if ever I get a long enough leave, we shall come out here and spend it among you.

Thank you very much.

Speech by Bhailal D. Patel, Secretary of the Birla Engineering College, at the Opening Ceremony of the Birla Vishvakarma Mahavidyalaya (Engineering College) at Anand

14 JUNE 1948

It is my proud privilege to welcome Your Excellency and Lady Mountbatten on this unique occasion. This is the first time in the annals of this district that a distinguished and august person of the rank of the Governor-General of the Indian Union has honoured us with a visit. And the occasion becomes even more memorable when it is a person of Your Excellency's magnificent achievements and immense popularity with all sections of the Indian people. It is impossible to express in mere words our gratitude to Your Excellency for the honour you have done us in consenting to perform the opening ceremony of the Birla Vishvakarma Mahavidyalaya.

This Engineering College is a part of a bigger and wider scheme, which aims at the economic, social and cultural development of villages in this district.

We propose to make Vallabh Vidya Nagar a model village working as a laboratory, where all problems of village uplift will be tackled under the able guidance and wise leadership of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. The establishment and growth of the Engineering College will be of material assistance to us in our work.

In pursuance of our aims, we have already undertaken water-supply and drainage schemes for half a dozen towns and villages. Plans and estimates for some of these have already been sanctioned by Government and the rest are awaiting sanction. We are manufacturing most of our own building materials and the materials for the water-supply, drainage and irrigation. We intend to develop our workshops to manufacture the requisite machinery for cottage industries, run on electricity.

On the educational side, we opened last June the Vithalbhai Patel Mahavidyalaya, teaching courses leading up to and including the M.A. and M.Sc. of the Bombay University. During the very first year of its existence, it attracted six hundred students and this year the number is expected to reach a thousand. Hostel accommodation is available for over five hundred students and more is under construction, our object being to make all our educational institutions residential.

This year, thanks to the munificent donation of Rs.25 lakhs from the Birla Education Trust, we are starting the Engineering College, which, as I have already stated, will be of considerable assistance to us in furthering our work of rural reconstruction and uplift.

We are making a start by providing instruction in three branches of Engineering, viz., Civil, Mechanical and Electrical. We propose, in the course of time, to add Automobile Engineering, Mining and Metallurgy, Telecommunications, Agricultural Engineering and Aeronautics. Hydro-electric schemes have, we think, a great future in these parts and we hope to specialise in this very important branch of Engineering.

We intend to have other educational institutions like the Medical College, Commerce College, etc., by and by. We have 700 acres of land and we are aiming at the establishment of a Residential University Town similar to Oxford and Cambridge with all its cultural amenities. This is undoubtedly a herculean task, but judging from the way we have approached the problem and the results so far achieved in this direction, we have every hope of reaching this goal in the course of five years.

It may take us about ten years to work out this scheme in its entirety. It has been taken in hand with the co-operation of hundreds of people of all castes, creeds and conditions. If it succeeds and I hope it will succeed, it is my great desire and ambition that it should serve as a model and guide to other districts and provinces of this great sub-continent and induce them to undertake similar schemes of self-help without looking to the State, at every step, for assistance in their programme of rural uplift and development. From this point of view, I am doubly grateful to Your Excellency, for, while Providence has made Your Excellency an instrument in bringing political independence to this Country, in declaring open this Engineering College which is an essential adjunct of our village uplift scheme, I am confident, Your Excellency will prove a harbinger of economic and social independence as well to the common man in this great country.

I must express my deep sense of gratitude to Her Excellency Lady Mountbatten for readily consenting to open the Girls' Hostel attached to the Vithalbhai Patel Mahavidyalaya. Last year we had thirty-seven girl students residing in the Nagar. The education of girls, in these parts, is much neglected. Very few girls go beyond the High School stage to take University education. It is very necessary that female education must receive proper attention and encouragement. Ours is the first College, I believe, in these parts, to provide a special Girls' Hostel. In declaring this Hostel open, I am confident that Her Excellency will be giving considerable impetus to the cause of Female Education, of which it is in sore need.

Your Excellency, I once again thank you and Her Excellency Lady Mountbatten for the great encouragement you have given us by sparing so much of your valuable time in spite of your numerous and urgent engagements.

I now request Your Excellency to declare the Birla Vishvakarma Mahavidyalaya open, and I request Her Excellency Lady Mountbatten to declare the Girls' Hostel open.

Speech at the Opening Ceremony of the Birla Vishvakarma Mahavidyalaya (Engineering College) at Anand

14 JUNE 1948

I SHOULD first of all like to thank Mr. Patel, the Secretary of the Birla Engineering College, most sincerely, for the very kind way he has received us this afternoon and for the very generous references he made to my wife and myself. Sardar Patel has so often spoken to me about Anand that it is a very real pleasure to me to come here to-day and see with my own eyes what I have heard so much about. It was only yesterday, Sunday, that I was at Dehra Dun saying good-bye to him. It was a sad occasion for my wife and me, because in the comparatively short time we have been out here we have gained a very real affection for him in every way. He was, I am glad to tell you, in very good health and spirits, and was obviously delighted that we were going to be here to-day, although naturally disappointed that he could not be present himself. But he was as enthusiastic as ever about the whole concept here and full of ideas and plans for the future. It was an inspiration to listen to him and to hear from him so much of all that is being done at Anand. My wife and I are so pleased that his daughter and constant companion, Miss Maniben Patel, has been able to be here to-day both to represent him with her brother and later to give him a first-hand account of to-day's events.

During our brief visit it is naturally impossible for us to

see as much here as we should have liked, but we have been immensely impressed by all that we have seen. I understand that the earlier of the two Institutes is the Agricultural Institute, which was started by Sardar Patel in 1940 to deal in the first instance with Animal Genetics, Nutrition and Dairy Technology. This has now grown into a full-fledged Institute of Agriculture, with its original School of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Dairying, the Post-Graduate Courses and now the College of Agriculture. This is a record of progress in a very short time of which anyone would be proud. Sardar Patel spoke to me with enthusiasm of the College of Agriculture, with its increasing number of students, and of his hopes that the main building, of which he laid the foundation stone last year, would be finished early in 1949. An Institute of Agriculture is all-important in India at the present time, where the standards of cattle in particular are low compared with other countries in the world, and where much improvement is required, and is undoubtedly possible, in milk yields in particular.

But to me the most interesting part of what I have seen here is the later of the two Institutes, namely the self-contained village around a multi-purpose educational establishment, for which the Birla Education Trust has made such generous provision in the past. Arising out of this whole concept comes the idea of a complete rural university and, as we all know, the establishment of a Rural University in Gujerat was one of Gandhiji's chief desires. He saw clearly that the different outlook between town and country postulated different methods in education. For example, town life with its large industries and mass production methods demands very different treatment from the rural areas, where cottage and small-scale industries are far more suited. Town and country also require different applications of science in its many branches.

This concept of Sardar Patel's is therefore all important in modern India, and as an experiment in village reconstruction I hope that we shall see its application in other parts of the country. The two Societies who are carrying out the work

seem to me to be admirably suited for the purpose. On the one hand you have one Society dealing with the uplift work in the villages, covering sanitation, water-supply, drainage, housing and cottage industries, while on the other hand you have the other Society carrying out educational activities. It is clear from what Mr. Patel said in his speech that from the start the organisers have kept before them the project for a residential university and I am glad to see that the educational areas of the township have been planned accordingly.

During my time in India I have spoken much about education. I have visited many of the great universities and a number of what I may call the Indian public schools, and I hope I will be forgiven if I refer once again to the fact that in addition to education you must not forget that character development should go hand in hand with it, and a University such as this will give all the students a very special chance to acquire both these things.

I am sure no one thinks that education just comes to any one; that it can be spoon-fed like medicine. All students must have discovered for themselves by now that they have got to do a lot for themselves if they want to learn.

Now one does not always learn, while one is at a college or university, that it is knowing about things that makes the whole of after life interesting and worth while. In my own case I did not really discover this while I was at college. The first world war came and I went to sea on my sixteenth birthday as a midshipman in the Grand Fleet. But I was one of the lucky ones and got a second chance; because those lads who had missed their education through being sent to sea as youngsters, and were called war babies, were sent to Cambridge University after the war ended on a post-war course. That was the time that I really learnt a lot, and that was the time I learnt how to learn about things. And that is what you want to do here; learn how to acquire knowledge for yourselves, learn how to learn, and go on learning for the rest of your lives. I know that that is the thing I have striven to do.

The other point I spoke about was character development. I would say to all students "You have got to make up

your own mind what sort of a character you are trying to develop, and then set about developing that yourselves. Here you have ideal surroundings and great possibilities; but you must do it yourselves; nobody else can do it for you.

What sort of character are you trying to develop? Different people have different ideas. But the fundamental which I think you have to aim at is to become the sort of man, or woman, that other people look up to: not just your future subordinates; or your contemporaries, but your superiors. Yes you want to be the sort of man that you own superiors also look up to. And to do that, I suggest you want first of all to be absolutely mentally honest; you must possess complete intellectual integrity, never deceiving yourselves for one moment. If you do that, and if you are capable of seeing both sides of every question, quite impartially, quite objectively and quite dispassionately, you will have no difficulty in arriving at the right answer. And when you have made up your mind and come to a decision, have the moral courage to stick to it, no matter if it is unpopular; no matter if stupid people sneer at you: you will have the mental satisfaction of knowing you are right; and then the people that matter will look up to you.

But my real reason for speaking like this to-day is because India requires pioneers to put through the Government's policy of raising the standard of living of the people. It is obvious that you cannot start at once teaching three hundred million people. It is obvious that we should start by educating and developing the characters of the chosen few—who are the lucky ones—whose privilege it will be to go out and gradually spread the whole scheme. And it is the people in the Universities who must be the pioneers.

And that is why I am so keenly interested in education and in University education in particular. I was glad to hear from Mr. Patel's speech that already you have courses here up to and including B.A. and B.Sc. and that in the first year over six hundred students were attracted to this place. Now the Birla Engineering College is opening, which I understand will handle a total of three hundred students, and plans

are already being formulated for a Medical College, a Commerce College and a Teachers' Training College. This is a magnificent effort and all concerned deserve our congratulations and good wishes. In this I include not only the staff and all the workers here, but all of those who have backed the whole scheme here, and particularly of course Sardar Patel and Mr. Birla.

To Sardar Patel must go the main part of the credit for the whole concept. We all know him as a realist with his feet planted firmly on the ground, and like Gandhiji he has been aware of the crying need for an institution of this type leading to a rural university. Future generations will bless the name of Sardar Patel for this wise and statesman-like project.

To Mr. Birla also must go great credit for similar vision and foresight, and above all for his practical generosity in finding the means to put this whole concept into being. I have already referred to the Birla Education Trust, who I am told have furnished awards of twenty-four lakhs upwards for the educational work of one of the two societies here. And now Mr. Patel has told us that Mr. Birla is finding the large sum of twenty-five lakhs for this Engineering College. This is a munificent gift, typical of the man, and I should like to express now my heartiest congratulations and appreciation to Mr. Birla for all that he has done here. He has come here to-day at considerable personal inconvenience, and we are all glad that he is here.

I am most grateful to His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda for the facilities he has extended to us in connection with this visit and am very grateful to the Maharajkumar and the Dewan of Baroda for accompanying us to-day.

I fear I shall only be able to pay a very brief visit to Baroda but I feel it is particularly appropriate that it should probably be the last State I visit before leaving India for it was also the very first State I ever visited in 1921.

The main reason for my coming here to-day is to perform the opening ceremony of the Engineering College. This college will be of material assistance in the work of rural

reconstruction and uplift and a big step forward to the goal of a complete university town. I do not need to enlarge on the importance of engineering and all its aspects in the modern world, and what a long-felt want this College will also fill in Bombay Presidency. Before I perform the opening ceremony I should like to thank all of you for the wonderful welcome you have given to my wife and me this afternoon. I can assure you that we have enjoyed our visit immensely; we only wish it could have been longer. It is a real pleasure to me to be here with you this afternoon and to perform this ceremony, the last of its kind which it will be my privilege to perform in India as Governor-General.

Message from The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,
Deputy Prime Minister of India, read at the Opening
Ceremony of the Birla Vishvakarma Mahavidyalaya
(Engineering College) at Anand

14 JUNE 1948

I AM both disappointed and sorry that ill-health prevents me from being present on this unique occasion in the history of this Institution. I am most grateful to Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Mountbatten for having responded to my invitation at such considerable inconvenience and trouble towards the fag-end of their stay in India. The high esteem and regard in which I hold them and the great personal friendship which has grown between us made me ask them to put themselves to the trouble and inconvenience of coming to this out-of-the-way place in the heart of Gujarat in this inclement and oppressive weather and to associate themselves, virtually on the eve of their departure, with an Institution, with which I am so closely and intimately connected. I have no doubt that, apart from this personal aspect of their presence at the Institution, their visit would serve as a great encouragement to the band of selfless workers who have done so much and have yet to do much more to give the novel aims and ideas, underlying this Institution, a local habitation and a name. Their selfless devotion has made it possible for this experiment to be launched under such a hopeful augury for the future.

India to-day needs, more than anything, constructive work of the best kind. We have enough of destructive forces at work both

inside and outside this country. We have, too, many problems of urgent and tremendous importance to be able to afford any attitude of indifference or tolerance towards those forces. The best way to deal with them is, however, to display a constructive attitude of mind, to take constructive interest in our problems and to demonstrate to the poor, ignorant and simple rural population and the younger generation of workers the immense benefits of constructive activities. One of the greatest problems with which India is faced to-day is to rehabilitate its rural areas. It is largely from that point of view that we have set ourselves to the task of achieving a rural university with a rural bias based on the principle of co-operation, self-help and self-sufficiency. The task is one before which much stouter hearts may quail, but thanks to the public spirit shown by the selfless band of workers, we are gradually progressing towards achieving the success of this great experiment. In doing so, they have, under the inspiring leadership of Bhailal Patel, brought about a happy blending of the old and the new.

The credit for persuading Gandhiji to give his consent to this experiment by establishing that modern science and methods could, with ingenuity and skill, be made to serve rural interests goes principally to Bhailal. Under his persistence and earnestness, scepticism yielded to conviction and with Gandhiji's blessings we took up the experiment in right earnest. What shape he and his band of assistants are giving to those ideals is now for the world to see. Gujarat has the unique distinction of having attempted to work Gandhiji's constructive ideas in a manner no other part of India has. It is, therefore, fitting that these ideals should have found their exponents and enthusiasts there and turned a land infested by dacoits and robbers into the seat of a great experiment.

May you all imbibe encouragement and hope from the visit of Their Excellencies the Governor-General and Lady Mountbatten and may it inspire you to nobler and more prodigious actions than in the past!

Farewell Address presented by the New Delhi Municipal Committee, at Government House, New Delhi

16 JUNE 1948

WE, the Members of the New Delhi Municipal Committee, beg leave to convey to you on our own behalf and in the name of the people of New Delhi, a message of farewell and good wishes on your departure from India. It is just about one year and a quarter since the then Members of this Committee had the privilege of offering to Your Excellencies an address of welcome and we are grateful now for the opportunity afforded to us, on the eve of Your Excellency's demission of office, to express our sentiments on your ensuing departure.

History has been crowded, Sir, into the period during which you have held office. The most difficult task of transferring power to the Dominions of India and Pakistan, which responsibility you took on your shoulders, we are not only glad but most grateful to note was successfully accomplished by you in record time, much earlier than originally contemplated. This resulted in the grant of independence to India for which her sons had long struggled. The laying down of power by the British Government and the assumption of power by the chosen representatives of the people of India was accomplished without bloodshed and with manifest goodwill on both sides. This longed-for result was due entirely to your unique combination of energy, tact and wisdom. As a direct result of your wide vision, great experience and firm grasp of realities combined above all with your love of freedom and zeal for the good of India, we had the good fortune of celebrating the Independence of the Indian Dominion on 15 August, 1947, only four and a half months from the date this Committee had the privilege of welcoming Your Excellencies. The high appreciation of your services and the reliance that the Indian Dominion placed in you was manifested in Your Excellency's appointment as the first Governor-General of Free India. Your time in India was marred by a great tragedy. The father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, we are grieved to say is no more to bestow his blessings on you at the time of your departure. His assassination at the time when his presence was most needed by the country is an irreparable loss to the nation.

The burden has been heavy and it required Your Excellency's pre-eminent ability, fortitude and special devotion to duty to undertake this task and discharge it faithfully with a sole eye to the service

of India. Now the time has come for you to rest from these cares. Though away from India, Your Excellency's name will always be associated with the freedom of India and it will remain a living memory in the annals not only of India but of the world. We may, however, be permitted to speak of our very sincere satisfaction in the appointment to succeed you of one who is not unknown to us and in whom we may confidently expect the qualities of statesmanship and service for the people which have distinguished Your Excellency's Governor-Generalship.

We desire to express also the debt of gratitude which we, in common with all India, owe for the devoted labours of Her Excellency in her many and most exacting spheres of public and social duty. The astonishing keenness and enthusiasm with which she has, without regard for comfort and convenience at all times and places and in all weathers, led in the van all those who work for the care of the sick and the injured, the unhappy victims of man's inhumanity to man; men, women and children of all classes and creeds, has been an inspiration to the whole country and a constant wonder to those who have seen her at close quarters busy the whole time finding no task too humble or too arduous to be tackled and successfully accomplished.

There is no doubt that high as was the war-time reputation of Your Excellency for outstandingly successful leadership as a Supreme Commander it has been immeasurably enhanced by the triumphs of political sagacity in peace, and great as were Her Excellency's labours for the succour of the wounded in battle they have been vastly exceeded by her work in peace for the unfortunate victims of riots, famine and disease.

May we now be permitted to speak briefly of New Delhi and of the affairs of our Committee, though we do not propose to dilate at length on matters whereon we should more properly turn to Your Excellency's successor.

During the short period of Your Excellency's Viceroyalty and Governor-Generalship, there has been a sudden and considerable increase in the population of New Delhi due to the influx of refugees which has led to a rapid growth of unauthorised road-side stalls. With the advent of the hot season the existence of these stalls, where food and drink of all sorts are sold, was considered a grave danger to Public Health. They also lead to much congestion of traffic. To accommodate these traders, the Committee have built 567 stalls, of semi-permanent construction in different important localities of New Delhi at an approximate expenditure of Rs.3.5 lakhs. More stalls of a larger size are to be built shortly. The work, carried out with the minimum technical staff, has been commendably successful both for speed and quality of work.

In the address presented on Your Excellency's arrival last year sanguine expectations were entertained of continued development on lines befitting the capital city of India. To what an extent those expectations have, quite unavoidably, by reason of the influx of refugees following the communal disturbances, been disappointed, Your Excellency is no doubt aware. Plans for about three hundred additional quarters for the Municipal sweepers off Reading Road and for a market off Cornwallis Road have already been approved by the Committee and it is hoped construction work will be taken in hand at no distant date. The construction of lady teachers' quarters and quarters for the nursing staff of the Willingdon Hospital and a third storey on the Municipal office building will also be taken up shortly.

Though a large building project for residential accommodation of Government officials in the Lodi Road colony and gazetted officers' bungalows and clerks' quarters on Willingdon Crescent and off Kitchener Road, were carried out during the last few years, there is still a great demand for more sites both for Government and private building. The temporary office and residential buildings which were constructed during the war as necessity arose, not only on some of our best open spaces but also on private sites of equal prominence, are still standing undemolished and our apprehension is that financial considerations and general inertia will leave us saddled with them for an unwarrantably long time. We, however, express the hope that when further permanent developments take place and the demands necessitated by the new order of things are met, all temporary structures will be removed. We are sure that both in the interest of public health and to restore the beauty of our capital city, it is Your Excellency's wish that the removal of the temporary structures be carried out at the very earliest possible opportunity, and we are therefore in no doubt of the strength of the recommendations you, Sir, will make in this behalf to your successor.

In the fields of Education, Public Health and Medical relief, a high standard of efficiency has been maintained. Two middle schools, one for boys and the other for girls, will be opened in the Lodi Colony with effect from 15 July when schools re-open after the vacations. Sanitary, water supply, educational and medical facilities have also been provided in the refugee camps established by Government in New Delhi for the refugees from West Punjab.

In conclusion may we be permitted to say, Sir, that no words of appreciation can in any way express the deep gratitude that we, the members of the New Delhi Municipal Committee and the entire population of New Delhi, owe to Your Excellencies for the noble part you have played in India.

We wish You Excellencies God-speed, a safe journey and many more years of happy service to your country and the world.

Reply to Farewell Address presented by the
New Delhi Municipal Committee at
Government House, New Delhi

16 JUNE 1948

I SHOULD like to thank you, the members of the New Delhi Municipal Committee, most sincerely for the address which you have just presented; and to these thanks I want to add my wife's also. We have been very touched by the kind things you have said and by the generous terms in which you have referred to our work here during the past fifteen months.

This period from March 1947 till June 1948 has been quite the most memorable period of our lives and indeed I doubt whether Delhi, with all its famous history, has ever seen more stirring days. Who will forget the mounting excitement of last summer's days and those memorable scenes on 15 August 1947 as India's independence was celebrated in the Assembly and on the Central Vista? Who will forget the dark days of last September and October when passions ran high and the joys of the month before had been forgotten? Who will ever forget the last tragic scenes as Gandhiji was drawn through the streets to his final resting place?

These many memories come crowding fast upon us. As I listened to the words of your address it was borne in on me all too poignantly that our time in Delhi was drawing to a close; and I felt it was particularly appropriate that the New Delhi Municipal Committee should be one of the last to say farewell to us.

For, as I reminded you when you greeted us fifteen months ago, we were no strangers to this city, and since the days of twenty-six years ago, when we both first visited the city we have always maintained a keen interest in its progress and welfare. I cannot believe that the city has ever had such problems ahead of it as it has had at the present time. I hear every day of demands for more accommodation, particularly to cope with the increased Corps Diplomatique, the necessarily

increasing Government services, much needed provision for additional health and educational facilities; and last, but not least, the care and housing of the refugees. My wife, with her close interest in the medical services, will, I know, be glad to learn of the forthcoming construction of additional teaching and staff quarters for the Willingdon Hospital and we hope that further improvement and expansion of the health services will continue to receive the close attention of the Committee.

All this will call for increased building development in New Delhi and although speed is obviously very desirable in this matter, I trust I am not being too frank when I say that I hope that the minimum number of temporary structures will be built: because these temporary structures do not blend with the main city and are unfortunately all too inclined to become permanent rather than temporary buildings.

I was particularly interested to hear all that New Delhi is doing for the refugees. Much still remains to be done and it is good to know that you are assisting the Government in this great rehabilitation problem. Here and there I have noticed about the place the small wayside cooking establishments to which you referred and which, unless properly controlled, I am sure will be a menace to health in this hot weather. Again the kerbside stalls in the shopping centre make ordinary business difficult. However glad we are that refugees are being set on their feet again I hope that all this will be regarded as a temporary measure only and that you gentlemen will press on to ensure that New Delhi regains and retains the high standard of cleanliness and comfort for which it has ever been famous.

I wish to take this opportunity of saying a word or two about your President. The energy and enthusiasm which he has shown in his work both on the New Delhi Municipal Committee and on the Delhi Improvement Trust, of which he is Chairman, is well known to you all. When he came to you as President he brought with him his long experience in the Public Works Department and a detailed knowledge of the problems of Urban Delhi. I think it will be agreed that, befitting the capital of India, New Delhi has maintained a very

high standard of municipal services. I am glad to learn that during Sir Arthur Dean's tenure as President of your Committee he has helped to maintain and improve this standard. It is also a matter of pleasure to me to learn that the timely construction of hundreds of stalls in New Delhi, intended to assist the resettlement of refugees, is due in no small measure to the keen interest and energy displayed by him. The work of the Improvement Trust has, as we are all aware, been made particularly difficult during the war years and after by dearth of essential materials. In the circumstances it is gratifying to learn that, among other things, Sir Arthur has been able to start work on the Delhi Ajmeri Gate Slum Clearance Scheme, which, I understand, is the most ambitious of the Delhi Improvement Trust Schemes. I understand that Sir Arthur will shortly be vacating the offices which he has filled with so much distinction and I am sure New Delhi will miss an officer who has won universal respect, other qualifications apart, by reason of his integrity and a sympathetic understanding of the problems confronting his departments.

My wife asks me to say how touched she is by your kind reference to her services and also to express her gratitude for the unfailing co-operation and help which she has received from the Authorities, the Voluntary Agencies and individual workers in the fields of Health, Education, Welfare and Refugee Relief activities with which she has been closely connected. I know she has felt it a privilege to be of any assistance in these spheres.

I entirely endorse what you say about His Excellency Shri Rajagopalachari, than whom no more suitable man could have been found to be the first Indian Head of Independent India. His decision to continue to live in Government House and to carry on with that measure of ceremonial which the dignity of one of the world's greatest nations demands is, I am sure, a wise decision.

From what I have said you will appreciate, if you do not know it already, the interest my wife and I take in New Delhi and the affection in which we hold it. Although my service duties are in the future likely to take me to distant parts of

the globe, I shall always look for news from India and from New Delhi; and I know that the many friends I have made out here will not fail to keep me informed of your progress. Once more may I thank you on behalf of my wife and myself for the very kind way you have addressed us to-day.

Speech by His Excellency The Chinese Ambassador,
Dr. Lo Chia-Luen, at a Farewell Dinner Party given
by the Chiefs of Diplomatic Missions at New Delhi

17 JUNE 1948

It is my pleasure and privilege to express on behalf of my esteemed colleagues of the Diplomatic Corps our sincere thanks to Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Mountbatten and other distinguished guests for their kind presence at this modest farewell function to-night.

The most brilliant career of His Excellency Lord Mountbatten is too well known and too varied and extensive for me to make an adequate mention on this occasion. To borrow the words of a famous English statesman, he is "foremost of English soldiers . . . in the first rank among statesmen of our time". It is gratefully recalled that when he was Supreme Commander of the S.E.A.C., he successfully immunised India from the Japanese invasion, liberated Burma and re-opened the Burma Road, the main wartime line of military supply into China. All in all, his name is gloriously associated with the Allied victory, the victory of the democracies.

His presence in India first as Viceroy and then as Governor-General during the dynamic transitional period has been a godsend. With great sincerity and high statesmanship, he has put the finishing touch to the most enlightened and wisest policy of the British Government for India. He accelerated the time and speed of the transfer of power. He performed an unprecedented job in a most graceful manner. He contributed to a new chapter in the modern history of India and the history of the British Commonwealth. In connection with the winning of Indian independence, he may be called a pillar and a pivot and should be worthy of the last line of Bishop Berkeley's only poem, which reads:

"Time's noblest offspring is the last."

We may sometimes wonder about the source of Lord Mountbatten's resourcefulness and perseverance. But, as soon as we see Lady Mountbatten, we find the answer in her charming personality, wisdom and sympathy, inspiration and counsel. Such fine qualities, we conclude, must have made immense and abiding contributions to Lord Mountbatten's happiness in his private life and success in his public service. Lady Mountbatten is, indeed, an ideal Lady-

Consort, but she is more than a Lady Consort; she is a popular and respected and, indeed, beloved celebrity in her own rights. She has earned respect and affection of the Indian people for what she has done for relief and welfare. Her spirit of service covers a wide range and she seems to know no fatigue in administering to the needs of the sick and the wounded, refugees and orphans, and the poor and the lowly. She has also taken keen interest in the promotion of mass education and the improvement of public health. Those who have seen Lady Mountbatten at work in the humanitarian field marvel at her inexhaustible energy, her angelic cheerfulness and gracefulness. She is absolutely devoid of pride and prejudice and she is all sweetness and light.

The great love which Lord and Lady Mountbatten have for India is spontaneous, natural and human; for India has been associated with their private lives in many a happy event. They began their courtship in India; they were engaged in India; they celebrated their silver wedding in India; and above all, they strove together for the early dawn of the independence of India, and this last was a most brilliant act crowning a colourful array of their public accomplishments. Their names and titles, when separately mentioned or addressed, denote two outstanding personalities, each distinguished in a field. But, in a more intimate way, and by a closer association of thoughts, they are often simply called together the Mountbattens, suggesting a picture of harmony of life and unity of work.

On the eve of Their Excellencies' departure, we members of the Diplomatic Corps share the feelings of Indian leaders and people and regret that the two great friends of India, who are our own personal friends, are leaving us very soon. We recall many an occasion when we enjoyed the distinctive hospitality and delightful company of the Mountbattens. They have left in our minds many happy memories of their public achievements and private kindnesses in our official contact and personal association with them. We shall miss very much Lord and Lady Mountbatten and their beloved charming daughter, Lady Pamela.

But the world is small for great personages. We are sure we can meet Their Excellencies again, somewhere, some day.

By way of bidding farewell to Their Excellencies, let me quote the famous Chinese poet Li Po, who says in a poem:

“ Deep is the water in the Peach Blossom Spring,
Deeper still is our hearts' feeling
When good friends are leaving.”

Speech by His Excellency The Burmese Ambassador,
U Win, at a Farewell Dinner Party given by the Chiefs
of Diplomatic Missions at New Delhi

17 JUNE 1948

It was very kind and considerate of my colleagues to have given me the signal honour of seconding the toast to Their Excellencies the Earl and Countess Mountbatten of Burma. I do appreciate this kind gesture and thank them for it. It is most appropriate that owing to Lord Mountbatten's association with Burma, the Ambassador of the Union of Burma should second the toast. His Excellency bears the name of my country in his title and holds a special place in the hearts of the people of Burma. In fact, Maung Ba Tint, the name affectionately called by the Burmese people, is the Burmese version of the illustrious name "Mountbatten" which has almost become a household word.

At a time when the balance of world's opinion was against Burma and the victorious Allied nations were suspicious of Burma's intentions His Excellency came forward to champion the cause of the little-known, war-devastated country for which he has for some reason cherished a special regard. When our late leader, General Aung San was regarded in some quarters as a "rebel" and "criminal", His Excellency with his intuitive knowledge of human character at once assessed the true worth of U Aung San and sought permission without hesitation from the British Chiefs of Staff to enter into negotiations with U Aung San. How wise was that fateful decision of the Supreme Allied Commander was shown by the subsequent course of events. His Excellency's correct appraisal of and sympathy for Burmese national aspirations was to a large extent responsible for the formulation by His Majesty's Government of a policy which resulted in the achievement of independence by Burma in January last. His Excellency will ever be reckoned as one of the makers of modern Burmese history.

Here is another instance. Who but one with genuine sympathy and love for Burma would have thought of restoring the Throne of King Thibaw—the last Burmese King—to the newly freed people of Burma. Amidst his multifarious duties as the Governor-General of a sub-continent he had found time to visit Burma to make a personal presentation of this cherished treasure to its rightful heirs thus bringing Burma still closer to India—this great country which has been bound by ties of spiritual kinship from time immemorial. The return of that regal emblem is only the latest proof of the perfect understanding that pervades the relationship between the two countries.

I would also like to pay a well-deserved compliment to Her Excellency. The Countess Mountbatten has to her cr  dit great and lasting services in the cause of the poor and the sick in many lands; and it was through Her Excellency's initiative and energy that hospitals were opened and the spheres of activities of the Red Cross and St. John Ambulance Organisations extended at a time when our country sorely needed them. Her Excellency's recent visit to Burma has strengthened the affectionate ties—affection which the people of Burma have for her and her most charming daughters. It is, therefore, with deepest sorrow that one has to accept the fact that Their Excellencies will no more be in our midst in a few days' time. However, though they may not be with us, the memory of their personalities and achievements will always remain with one and all of us.

At this moment, the Burmese people are with me to join me in wishing Their Excellencies health, happiness and prosperity and I can also assure Their Excellencies that the illustrious name of Mountbatten will ever be cherished in the memory of the people of Burma.

Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, it is with great pleasure that I second the toast proposed by His Excellency the Chinese Ambassador.

Extempore Speech at a Farewell Dinner Party given by the Chiefs of Diplomatic Missions at New Delhi

17 JUNE 1948

ONE of the few disadvantages which a Constitutional Governor-General suffers from is the fact that as a rule he has to clear with his Government any speech that he is going to make. To-night I have regarded this as an informal and personal occasion and I am afraid I have not this time cleared what I am going to say with my Prime Minister. I didn't feel that I could, because I didn't wish to make a prepared speech. I wished to be able to speak straight from the heart.

It is difficult to find words in which to thank our hosts, the Diplomatic Corps of Delhi for an honour which must be

a most unusual one. My neighbour, Mrs. Grady, has just informed me that in her long experience of diplomatic life, she has not come across a Diplomatic Corps brought together in this particular way, and so, on behalf of my wife and of my daughter, I should like to say thank you very much indeed for honouring us in this way, and for all the kind things that have been said to-night.

It is encouraging to think that the distinguished representatives of all the great countries gathered round this table, whose representatives in almost any other country to-day profoundly disagree on most subjects, have been able to get together in Delhi and in complete agreement. I cannot help wondering if U.N.O. were to transfer itself to Delhi, with the present Ambassadors, Ministers and High Commissioners here to-night as the representatives, whether continued agreement might not be possible!

Since we first arrived in Delhi I have seen this Diplomatic Corps growing. I was here shortly before the first credentials were presented by our distinguished friend Dr. Lo, the Chinese Ambassador. Since then I have seen all the other Ambassadors, Ministers and High Commissioners come out here, a total of eighteen, which is still growing.

May I say that I feel it was particularly thoughtful of the Diplomatic Corps to choose Their Excellencies the Ambassadors of China and Burma to make the two speeches to-night, because in recent years no other two countries outside India itself have been so closely associated in our lives.

China was our neighbouring theatre of war, and the Generalissimo paid me the unique honour of putting under my command the 1st and 6th Chinese Armies who fought so magnificently in Burma under General Stilwell and his two Army Commanders, Generals Sun and Liao.

As the Burmese Ambassador said, Burma has a very special significance for us. Not only will the name of Burma I hope continue in our family for many generations to come but the friendship and trust which the bewildered people of Burma showed to the Allied High Command enabled us to work in unison with General Aung San and the Burmese

patriot forces, in liberating their country from the Japanese invaders.

We were extremely touched by the recent reception we got in Burma, and Burma for us will ever hold dear memories.

I should like to express my gratitude individually to all the Ambassadors, Ministers and High Commissioners and the Chargés-d'Affaires for the personal friendship they have extended to me, and for the way that they have helped me in my task. I remember discussing with several of them the degree of ceremonial which should or should not be observed in Government House. I found that all of them felt that the head of a great State like India should observe a certain degree of ceremonial. I am delighted to think that my successor, in consultation with the Prime Minister, intends to preserve that degree of ceremonial which they feel will befit India.

One small point about which I am particularly happy is that they have decided to keep on the Bodyguard which is the oldest unit of the Indian Army having been formed 175 years ago in 1773. It is the only unit in India that retains its full-dress uniform for State ceremonial occasions. Since the war other countries such as France, Denmark and now the United Kingdom have reintroduced full dress for ceremonial or special occasions for their guards. India may well feel proud of this small body of 100 regular soldiers who helped keep order in the riots and to escort Gandhiji to his funeral pyre.

May I say that I think in Delhi we are peculiarly lucky in the personnel in the External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations Office, not only of course with the Minister who holds that portfolio, but with the choice he made of a Secretary General and Foreign Secretary. I feel that the Diplomatic Corps for once will not mind my speaking on their behalf in revealing the fact that they have often expressed their appreciation to me of the invaluable help and kindness that they say they have received from the whole of the External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations Ministry.

The members of the Diplomatic Corps will all find themselves sooner or later in the position which we, the Mountbattens, are in to-night, when they are about to leave this

country. Already Dr. and Mrs. Grady face that position now, Sir Terence and Lady Shone will face it in the not very distant future, and all the others must sooner or later face it. I prophesy that when each of you are about to leave this country you will inevitably feel very sad at leaving so many friends; but however sad any of you feel, I doubt if it would be possible for your feelings ever to quite match the feelings that we now have. It seems quite incredible that the day of our departure is actually upon us. We have grown into this country, to love it, to feel part of it, and the idea of leaving upsets all of the Mountbatten family equally, for all of us have made so many good friends since we have been here.

The kind things that have been said to-night, the kind things that have been said to us recently on other occasions, and the expressions of sincere friendship, which we so heartily reciprocate, have touched us more than we can possibly say.

May I thank you once more for the very memorable evening you have given us, and I hope and trust that the Diplomatic Corps will grow from strength to strength in unity and friendship in Delhi.

Farewell Address presented by the Delhi Municipal Committee

20 JUNE 1948

WE find it extremely difficult to give expression in words to the many different thoughts and sentiments agitating our minds to-day as we have assembled here to bid Your Excellencies farewell on behalf of the citizens of this historic city.

This dear old city of ours has always had the pride of place in the history of India. For thousands of years, it has been the capital of the country and has been ruined and founded over again, a number of times, within a surrounding area of fifteen to twenty miles. As you are no doubt aware, Delhi has seen the dawn and decay of many a mighty Empire. It has also seen the days when the British Empire was at the highest summit of its glory. The historic Delhi Durbars of Queen Victoria, King Edward VII and King George V, which can never be forgotten by those who witnessed them, and whose importance can never be minimised by historians, were all held in this very city.

Your Excellency, it is undoubtedly a matter of great pleasure and pride that due to your sincerity, statesmanship and mature wisdom, Delhi was spared the sight of the involuntary end of British Power in India. On the other hand, this city witnessed, on 15 August last, that great important and historic ceremony in which you with your own gracious hands, entrusted the reins of the Government, in a most peaceful manner, to the care of those great sons of India whose very names make our hearts leap with joy.

Your Excellency, there is a famous Indian saying, "Ganga Ko anna, Bhagirat Ko Yash" (which means that the sacred Ganges had certainly to come, but the credit for it was to go to Bhagirat, through whom she came). Well, India had to be free in any case, but by your farsightedness, wisdom and tact you removed the century-old bitterness between the Indians and the English. You waved a magic wand which made our countrymen forget all those hardships which were suffered by the country's patriots, men, women, and children alike, who underwent troubles and a number of them sacrificed their very lives at the altar of freedom. In this way, you have rendered a signal meritorious service both to India and Great Britain which will remain immortal in the history of the two countries.

Sir, it was in appreciation of these great services of yours that

a Free India, of its own free accord, elected to have you as its first Governor-General. It is indeed a matter of great honour and pride for you, that those who made the choice did not have to regret it. We offer you our heart-felt gratitude for the great sincerity, love and courage you have displayed in the discharge of your exalted duties in solving the many difficult and knotty problems which suddenly descended upon us simultaneously with the advent of freedom, as also for the way in which you have helped your Cabinet Ministers with your wise counsels and sagacious statesmanship.

On this occasion, we cannot help recounting the activities of your gracious and charming consort, Her Excellency the Countess Mountbatten. Not only has she given you her full co-operation like a true and devoted wife, but the work she has done among the womenfolk of India and the part she has played in serving the oppressed, the refugees and the sick elicits our highest admiration, to which we feel most happy to give expression here.

Honoured Sister, Indians will never forget the devoted and selfless work you have done in connection with the unfortunate abducted women and children, which has resulted in the happy re-union of thousands of brothers and sisters, fathers and sons and husbands and wives.

Your Excellency, we are fully confident that the great experience and success with which you are leaving us will make you occupy many such and more important and exalted positions in different parts of the world, where you will have many opportunities of helping and serving this country.

Your Excellency must have seen well during your own illustrious régime that this country has won its freedom by strictly adhering to the principles of Truth and Non-violence and that even now it wishes to have its dealings and relations with other countries on the basis of Truth and Love alone. We hope you will give this message of ours to the world and make known to it our leaders' sincere faith in it, of which you yourself are now well aware, for we firmly believe that the world is now quite sick of hatred, jealousy and war and that a new and peaceful world can only be built upon the foundations of Truth and Non-violence.

We are grieved that the Father of the Nation, who alone had the right to confer blessings on you, is no longer in our midst at this time of our final separation from you, but we are certain that you will have the blessings of his soul. He had in his life-time greatly appreciated the meritorious services you rendered to his country. Now while wishing Your Excellencies a most hearty farewell and *bon voyage* home we make a present to you of a statue of that very Father of our Nation and hope that this present of ours will always remind you of this country, its people, its Father and above all, of his message of Truth and Non-Violence.

Reply to Farewell Address presented by the Delhi Municipal Committee

20 JUNE 1948

His Excellency commenced his speech in Hindustani as follows :

My wife and I are quite overcome by the wonderful reception this great gathering has given us. We have come to bid you farewell and to tell you how sorry we are to be leaving you. Our hearts will remain with you always.

My Hindi is not good enough to enable me to make the whole speech in Hindi. I will, therefore, now continue in English and a translation in Hindi will be read to you as soon as I have finished.

Once more all our very best wishes and thanks.

His Excellency then continued in English as follows :

I need hardly say what a thrilling experience it is to be here to-day and to see the enormous crowds who have gathered here to greet us. But I must, first of all, thank you, Mr. President, for the very kind way you have received my wife and me and for the most generous and flattering phrases in which you have referred to our work out here. I must also thank you for the beautiful map of India holding the silver scroll in which the address has been put and surmounted by the ivory statue of Gandhiji. As I have said on other occasions, all of you have been so kind and friendly to us during our fifteen months stay that it would not have been possible for us to have done anything but to give of our best in return.

From this point onwards he read out the farewell broadcast he was about to make at 8.30 p.m. that night (see page 248) and concluded his speech as follows :

Although all of you in this vast audience here, which I am told numbers well over one hundred thousand, have been

able to hear what I have said in English and will shortly hear its translation into Hindustani, there are crores of people in the country to whom I would wish to speak in similar words, and I am therefore arranging to broadcast this speech through All-India Radio at 8.30 this evening. In conclusion, therefore, may I say on behalf of my wife and myself, thank you and all good fortune to you personally and to India in the future.

Farewell Broadcast to the people of India

20 JUNE 1948

WHEN I was first asked to interrupt my naval career to become the last Viceroy of India, I must confess that I viewed the prospect with considerable trepidation. After serving in South-East Asia from 1943 to 1946, during all of which time I had a Rear-Headquarters in Delhi, I felt that I could to some extent appreciate the complexity of the situation which would confront the Viceroy on whom the task of transferring power would fall. But when I arrived out in India and was able to see the problem for myself at close quarters, it appeared to present even more difficulties than I had supposed.

There was one bright feature, however, in the general gloom—and it was perhaps the most important feature that one could have wished for. This was the determination of all those with whom I had to deal—whether they were leaders in the political field or in any other walk of life—that a realistic solution could and must be found. And from the moment that I arrived, difficulties which had seemed insurmountable began to melt in the atmosphere of mutual trust and goodwill with which those leaders combined to help me in my task.

I can never say with what emotion I received the invitation (which was generously ratified by the Constituent Assembly as its first act during the midnight meeting of 14-15 August) to be the first Constitutional Governor-General of free India during the Interim Period. I gladly agreed to stay on until 31 March 1948 (the date specifically mentioned in the Indian Independence Act as the end of the Interim Period) and, later, I was deeply honoured by the invitation to extend this time until June. It has been difficult to decide at what juncture it would be in India's best interests

that an Indian should be appointed in my place; but I hope that time will show that I have stayed long enough to be useful; but not too long, so as to deprive India of the right which her freedom has conferred on her, to choose one of her own people to be the head of the State. It is a particular pleasure to me that the choice should fall on my friend Rajaji, for no one is better qualified to take over the post.

It has been an unforgettable experience for myself and my family to have been privileged to be in India during these past, historic fifteen months. India has a great history behind her—and she has a great history ahead of her. She has many problems, grave problems such as would be bound to face any nation suddenly achieving freedom—but magnified in her case by the fact that this freedom has been attained at a time of unparalleled world-wide difficulties, and in a country that contains nearly one-sixth of the human race. But I know that she will solve these problems and that her difficulties will be surmounted: India is destined to fill a high place in the world, and to play a high part in the world's affairs.

India is potentially as rich a country as any in the world. Quite apart from the wealth within the ground itself, such as coal, iron ore, manganese and all the other valuable minerals, quite apart from the immense possibility of further prosperity from hydro-electric power and irrigation schemes, there remains the greatest source of wealth that any country can have—the hundreds of millions of its ordinary people. For with them rest not only the age-long traditions of manual labour but the inheritance of the new technical age and of the ever-increasing skill which further training will provide. Inventive genius, which is latent in the Indian people, can now be harnessed as never before for the benefit and prosperity of themselves and of the whole world. Clearly the spread of universal education and the advance of social service and conscience are essential if those creative forces are to be fully realised. These things will come about, but for all that India's greatest asset will, I am sure, always lie in the character of her people. I myself saw the most stupendous crowds in my life in India—on Independence Day, at Gandhiji's funeral, at

the Mela at Allahabad, and on other historic occasions. The good nature, and friendliness of these vast masses were unforgettable; I realised then that I was seeing before me the raw material of India's future greatness.

Your draft Constitution takes its place among the great documents of liberty and human rights. Be worthy of it. Goethe wrote that only he is worthy of true freedom who is prepared to establish it himself in his everyday life. It is not the fact that high ideals are written into your Constitution that will help you, but the stern resolve with which you yourselves determine to suppress all that could militate against these ideals being put into practice.

I would like to end this talk on a personal note. During our fifteen months in India my wife and I have visited every single Province, and the majority of the major States; and wherever we have gone, we have been received with universal friendliness and kindness. My wife, who has been so closely associated with medical, educational and welfare work, amongst the refugees, the sick, and the abducted women, has had an even greater opportunity of meeting the people than I have had myself; and I know how deeply she has appreciated the help and co-operation given to her by all officials, and the way that she has been received by all the people with whom she has come in contact.

Wherever we may go in the future, both of us will remember with a sense of pride and of real humility the wonderful kindness and friendship we have received on all sides. We shall continue to love India and to take the deepest personal interest in her future welfare.

Speech by The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime
Minister of India at a Farewell Banquet at Government
House, New Delhi

20 JUNE 1948

FIFTEEN months ago, almost to a day, some of us went to Palam air field to welcome the new Viceroy and his wife. Some of us will go again to Palam air field to-morrow morning to bid them good-bye. Fifteen months have passed and these fifteen months seem a long time, and yet it seems but yesterday that Lord and Lady Mountbatten and Pamela Mountbatten came here; and if you look again it seems an enormous age that has gone by because of the accumulation of sensation and experience, of joy and sorrow that has come to us during these fifteen months. I find it a little difficult to speak on this occasion because the persons about whom I am going to speak have become during this period very dear and intimate friends of ours, and it is always difficult to speak of those who are friends and who are dear to us. One may overdo it or one may, on the other hand, guard oneself unduly and underdo it. In any event I do not know that any words of mine are needed here to say much about Lord and Lady Mountbatten. For the last many days there have been numerous parties where they received words of praise and friendship and welcome I suppose, but they did not affect me very much. They were rather formal on the whole. But I do feel that any words of mine this evening, after the demonstration in the City of Delhi three or four hours ago will be in the nature of an anticlimax, because three or four hours ago the City of Delhi, that is the common people of Delhi, gathered together to welcome or rather to bid good-bye to them, and that was such a wonderful demonstration of friendship and affection that any words or phrases can hardly be suited to an occasion after that event. I do not know—at least I cannot guess—how Lord and Lady Mountbatten felt on that occasion: but used as I am to these vast demonstrations here, I was much affected and I wondered how it was that an Englishman and an English woman could become so popular in India during this brief period of time; and that brief period, being a period certainly of achievement and success in some measure, but also a period of sorrow and disaster. In fact I have often wondered why the people of India put up with those like me who are connected with the

governance of India after all that has happened during the last few months. I am not quite sure that if I was not in the government, I would put up with my government. Quite apart from the merits or demerits, the fact is that a government should and must be responsible for everything that happens, and if everything that happens is not right, then the government ought to be blamed. I think that is a good maxim, generally speaking. It may perhaps find sufficient excuses. So it surprised me all the more that after this period of storm and stress and difficulty, the Governor-General and his wife, who were in some sense associated with all this, should still be able to win the affection of the people in such a tremendous degree. Obviously this was not connected so much with what had happened but rather with the good faith, the friendship and the love of India that these two possessed. They saw them working hard with indomitable energy, with perseverance, with optimism which defied everything, they felt even more than they saw the friendship which they had for India and they saw that they were serving India to the best of their ability. We have many failings and many weaknesses in India, but when we see friendship for India and service for India, our hearts go out and those who are friends of India and those who serve India are our comrades, whoever they might be or wherever they might be. And so the people of India, realising that Lord and Lady Mountbatten undoubtedly were friendly to India and the Indian people, undoubtedly were serving them, gave you their affection and love. They could not give very much else. You may have many gifts and presents, but there is nothing more real or precious than the love and affection of the people. You have seen yourself, Sir and Madam, how that love and affection work. If I may say so they are God's most precious gift.

So when you have seen all this, I have little to add except to say a few words rather personal perhaps, and also impersonal. You have been here, Sir, in your individual capacity and in a great public capacity. We have become friends with you, many of us, and we have been thrown together at a strange moment in history, and we have been actors also in this historic scene. It is difficult for me or for anyone to judge of what we have done during the last year or so. We are too near it and too intimately connected with events. Maybe we have made many mistakes, you and we. Historians a generation or two hence will perhaps be able to judge what we have done right and what we have done wrong. Nevertheless, whether we did right or wrong, the test, perhaps the right test, is whether we tried to do right or did not, for if we did try to do right with all our might and main, then it does not very much matter, although it does matter in the sense that it turned out to be a wrong thing. I cannot judge our own motives but I do believe that we did

try to do right and I am convinced that you tried to do the right thing by India, and therefore many of our sins will be forgiven us and many of our errors also. You came here, Sir, with a high reputation, but many a reputation has foundered in India. You lived here during a period of great difficulty and crisis, and yet your reputation has not foundered. That is a remarkable feat. Many of us who came in contact with you day to day in these days of crisis learnt much from you, we gathered confidence and sometimes we were rather shaken, and I have no doubt that the many lessons we have learnt from you will endure and will help us in our work in the future.

To you, Madam, I should like to address myself also. The gods or some good fairy gave you beauty and high intelligence, and grace and charm and vitality, great gifts, and she who possesses them is a great lady wherever she goes. But unto those that have, even more shall be given and they gave you something which was even rarer than those gifts, the human touch, the love of humanity, the urge to serve those who suffer and who are in distress, and this amazing mixture of qualities resulted in a radiant personality and in the healer's touch. Wherever you have gone, you have brought solace, you have brought hope and encouragement. Is it surprising therefore that the people of India should love you and look up to you as one of themselves and should grieve that you are going? Hundreds of thousands have seen you personally in various camps and other places and hospitals, and hundreds of thousands will be sorrowful at the news that you have gone.

May I say a word of Pamela Mountbatten? She came here straight from school, and possessing all the charm she does, she did grown-up persons' work in this troubled scene of India. I do not know if all of you who are present here know the work she has done, but those who know, know well how splendid that has been and how much it has been appreciated.

I do not wish to say more, but to repeat what many no doubt have told you, that while we say good-bye to you, we do not look upon this as a good-bye and farewell. The bonds that tie the Mountbattens to us are too strong to be broken and we hope to meet here or elsewhere from time to time, and whether we meet you or not, we shall remember you always. We cannot give you anything more precious or more valuable a gift than you have received from the people of Delhi—from the people of India—but as a small souvenir my Colleagues in the Cabinet and the Governors of all the Provinces of India have joined together in presenting you with this small gift which I shall have the privilege to hand to you. This, as you see, is a kind of plate or tray. It has got inscribed upon it the signatures engraved of all the Members of the Cabinet and all the Governors in India, and the inscription upon it is this:

“ To the Mountbattens
On the eve of their departure from India
With affection and good wishes and
as a token of friendship.”

Your Excellencies, Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen,
may I ask you to drink to the health and good fortune of the
Mountbattens ?

Extempore Speech at a Farewell Banquet given by the Prime Minister and the Cabinet at Government House, New Delhi

20 JUNE 1948

THIS is a very inspiring moment in the lives of the Mountbattens. It is also a very sad moment. Everything that the Prime Minister has said has made us feel that the moment is as inspiring as it is sad. I don't want to use the trite phrase that everything he said has been flattery, because I know that he speaks only what he feels, that is why the unprepared phrases he has used are more precious to me than any prepared peroration which hadn't got the same degree of sincerity behind it.

Here on our last night in India we are surrounded by familiar faces. The faces of our friends. Here to-night there are old friends such as His Highness of Bhopal, one of my oldest friends in India. There are new friends, such as we have made recently. There are Ruling Princes such as His Highness of Bundi who fought under my command in South-East Asia. There are the Ambassadors, Ministers and High Commissioners who represent their various countries in Delhi. There are the Commander-in-Chiefs and the Senior Officers of the Armed Forces in India. There are representatives of the Civil Service in the highest positions, and last there are our hosts to-night.

I have put them last because hosts usually wish to put themselves last; it is for that reason and no other for our hosts are the Prime Minister and the Ministers of the Government of India. As Viceroy it was my privilege to preside at the meetings of the Cabinet. I arrived on the evening of a budget crisis. I was warned by Lord Wavell that the next meeting of the Cabinet could not fail to be very difficult. Well, Ladies

and Gentlemen, that meeting of the Cabinet was not difficult, because of the kindness and the consideration which the Ministers showed to a "new boy" in a difficult job. It was from that evening onwards I knew that I had come among friends.

It is hard to pick out individually all one's friends, particularly as so many have become such close ones; our hostess Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, that dear sweet person who covers up her business-like efficiency and competence under a cloak of charm; my successor Mr. Rajagopalachari, the wise and elder statesman of India who is eminently fitted in every way to be the first Indian to hold this high office. He has such a delightful sense of humour, even in the letters that we have been writing to each other on business.

I was warned before I came to India that I should meet my match in a very "tough guy", Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel; but when we met I came to the conclusion that he could not be quite as tough as the act that he put on. He is so very apparently hard and firm and unyielding, and I think he is like that because he doesn't want the world to know what a very warm heart beats behind that rugged exterior, and I regard him as one of the greatest friends I have made here, and am sad that he can't be with us to-night.

About the Prime Minister it is difficult to speak for the exact complimentary reasons that he has mentioned. He has become such a friend of the whole Mountbatten family that we shall be lonely when we leave India and are without him, but I share entirely the view he has already expressed that the friendship that has counted the most during our time out here, has been the friendship of the ordinary man and woman in the street, and in the fields. It is almost inexplicable to us why they should have taken so kindly to us except that we felt a tremendous reciprocal feeling of friendship towards them. The most touching and quite unbelievable things have happened. Refugees have collected together their pies and their annas in order that one of their number might travel sometimes a journey of twenty-four hours or even forty-eight hours to bring up some of the gifts they have made as a token

to my wife and that they were pleased with what she did. And the people in the streets to-day were so very friendly—an experience I shall never forget as long as I live.

I could go on talking like this a long while, but I should only be repeating myself. What I am trying to say is that we are desperately sorry to be leaving India. In less than ten hours from now our physical bodies will go, but our hearts will always remain here.

I would now like to refer to this tray that has just been given us. Ladies and Gentlemen, this is no ordinary tray. I doubt whether in history all the Cabinet Ministers of a great Central Government and all the Governors of the Provinces of a great sub-continent have joined together to have their names inscribed on one object like this. It makes it of a value quite beyond computation, and will always remain by far the most historic heirloom of the Mountbatten family. I thank the Ministers and the Governors on behalf of my wife, and my daughter and myself most heartily for this gift.

When I was last in London, the King said that he wanted to give some gift when we left to the Government and people of India, and we discussed what form this could take. I reminded His Majesty that there was in this house a set of gold plate, or rather heavily silver gilt plate which had been given personally to his father by the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths and Silversmiths, one of the ancient city companies, which had been specially designed and built with the approval of King George V to fit into the State dining-room at New Delhi, and which he gave for use in the house of his Viceroy. It is His Majesty's own personal property to do with as he pleases, and it is his particular desire to give this in token of friendship, not only on behalf of himself, but as a symbol of the friendship of all English men and women and indeed of all the people in the United Kingdom to the people of India.

I shall now draw aside our two national flags which cover the plate in token of transferring it to my successor and to the Government of India, as a gift.

Part Three

SPEECH ON RETURN TO LONDON FROM INDIA

29 June, 1948

Speech to the members of the East India Association, made at a reception at the Imperial Institute in London, immediately after Lord Mountbatten's return from India.

29 JUNE 1948

I SHOULD like on behalf of my wife and myself to express our deep sense of gratitude to the East India Association for honouring us at this reception this afternoon.

I was in a slight quandary when I accepted the invitation because it involved speaking on India. I pointed out to Lord Scarbrough that it would be difficult, if not improper, for me to discuss in any detail what had occurred during the time I was a servant of free India. But he replied that on account of the limited size of the newspapers and the amount of positive news that comes through about India it would not be unwelcome if I spoke in some detail about the period of my Viceroyalty and more briefly on the constitutional period which followed.

In March of last year when I was sworn in as Viceroy and Governor-General in Delhi, although I found there was no space in the programme for a speech, I nevertheless did say a few words on that occasion in order to convey a message to the people of India. I said I was under no illusion as to the immense difficulty of the task confronting me, and pointed out that this task could be brought to a successful conclusion only if there was the utmost goodwill from the greatest number of people. I asked India for that goodwill. During the course of my talk to-day I hope you will see that I got a full measure of that goodwill, more than anyone could have expected or deserved.

Before I left for India there were discussions in London with the Prime Minister and the India-Burma Committee of the Cabinet, and we agreed upon a programme or rather a time-table on how the transfer of power was to be handled. We

came to the conclusion that my first six or seven months there should be spent in studying the problem on the spot. Before the end of 1947 I was to communicate back my proposals for the transfer of power to enable legislation to be introduced early in 1948, so that the actual transfer could take place this month, June, 1948.

When I got out to India I realized (as had so often been my past experience in war) that when one gets up to the front the situation looks a little different from the way it appeared in London. I found that, although we in London had visualized the programme of transfer for June, 1948, to be moving at lightning speed, in India it was regarded as being much too slow. Everybody there was agreed on this point: the leaders, leading British officials, my staff advisers. Everybody was certain that an early and correct decision as well as an early announcement on the position would have to be made if we were going to arrest the increasing swing of the pendulum. There were riots and reprisals for riots. They had already occurred in three Provinces and had started in the North-West Frontier Province the month I arrived out there.

Looking at the problem, the first thing that struck me (and an opinion which I have not changed) was that the right answer would have been to have kept a united India.

The admirable Cabinet Mission Plan of 1946 was accepted by every party in India at one time or another, though never by all parties at the same time. It was, in fact, one of those plans that could be made to work only by the active will and co-operation of all parties. It could not be enforced on the people any more than one could force a horse to drink after it had been led to the water.

I started off by seeing as many of the leaders as I could. I went on hour after hour, day after day, and when I first had interviews with people like Gandhi, Jinnah, and Nehru I refused to talk business at all. I simply got to know them. They told me about their early days. Gandhi went right through his history in South Africa and his early days in London. Jinnah told me the tale of his life at the Bar in London. It was several hours before I would talk about India at all. But after we got

to know one another and had made friends we were able to progress fairly quickly. I soon realized that nothing I could do or say could deflect the Muslim League from its intention to insist absolutely on partition of the country. No other solution would have been peacefully accepted by the Muslim League.

The next problem was to see if the Congress Party, who had always stood for united India, would be prepared to consider partition as the price for a quick transfer of power and the restoration of peace. The Congress Party have always stood for non-coercion, and they said that, provided that no non-Muslim majority community went into the partition areas against its will, they would raise no objection. It was pointed out that in the case of Provinces like the Punjab and Bengal partition would undoubtedly be involved. When this was put to Jinnah he was against the performance of a surgical operation on Provinces which had ancient histories of unity. A man was a Punjabi or a Bengali before he was a Muslim or a Hindu. I agreed. I said that the feeling invoked in his heart by the prospect of the partition of these Provinces was the feeling invoked in my heart and the heart of Congress against the partition of India itself. And so we went, as one might say, around the mulberry bush, always coming back to the same point.

Having worked out the rough outline for partition and how it could be effected, the next problem was to find out whether or not this was really the will of the people. Of course, the right way to have found this out would have been to have taken a plebiscite on the basis of adult franchise, but that would have taken years, not months. The only alternative was to use the Legislative Assemblies, elected as recently as 1946 and presumably, therefore, representing the will of the people. Now I will not go into the details, which were widely publicized, but I would point out that the Plan of June 3, 1947, was a plan created by the process of open diplomacy. Its every stage and every point was the result of frank discussion with all the leaders. The Plan was not put on paper for several weeks, but I kept notes, and at every turn I spoke and tried to reconcile the different points of view and gain points of common ground. I am not going to pretend that the Plan of June 3 was ideal;

I know it was far from satisfactory to all the parties concerned. But, on the other hand, it was quite impossible to give everybody complete satisfaction, for had that been possible my services would never have been required. Long ago the leaders would have found a solution for themselves without the tremendous turmoil and riots then going on in India.

Although we were able to resolve the problem of the major communities, we were left with the problem of one of the minor communities. As you know, the greatest community, the Hindu community, is just under 300,000,000 strong. The Muslim community number just under 100,000,000. Then come the Christians, and fourthly come the Sikhs, numbering just under 6,000,000. They are small but very compact, a warlike and dominating race, and they live entirely in the Punjab. The week before I arrived Congress had put up a resolution on their behalf, which Lord Wavell passed to me, saying that they wished for the Punjab to be partitioned in accordance with the Muslim and non-Muslim majority areas. I naturally accepted that and assumed that the Sikhs knew what they were about. But I was greatly surprised to find upon examining the population map that by their own resolution they were proposing to bisect themselves into almost two equal halves.

It was then too late to change the basis of partition, and if we were to adhere to the principles concerning Muslim and non-Muslim majority areas, the principles accepted and conceded to both sides, only a miracle could have kept the Sikhs together in one part of India. Well, we were not able to work miracles and we did not find a solution. The best thing we were able to do was to arrange for the leaders, including the Sikh leaders, to nominate a Committee to produce the terms of reference for the Boundary Commissions so that the boundaries might be drawn up on lines acceptable to all those concerned.

The next point that arose was: When was the transfer of power to take place? On that point there was absolutely no difference of opinion at least no difference of opinion that made itself heard to me. Everybody wanted the greatest possible speed, everybody wanted the transfer of power to take place quickly. Indeed, why wait? For in waiting there

would be the risk of continued and increasing riots. There would be increasing friction and difficulty in keeping together the Indian Coalition Government, of which I was virtually the Prime Minister, and which was then running along on completely divergent lines. So we went ahead and fixed a date. It took two years to separate Sind from Bombay. We separated 400,000,000 people in two and a half months. To do that we set up a Partition Council with an immense number of sub-committees, which settled and resolved matters in record time.

But in spite of that I was still left with a major problem (I am coming back to the Plan itself). How was I going to transfer power quickly to one or two nations or countries which had not yet got a Constitution of their own? One of them, it was true, had a Constituent Assembly, so that by June, 1948, they might perhaps have produced a Constitution. With regard to the other we did not know, theoretically at least, if it was even going to come into being. If it did it was not until August 15 that they would be able to set up a Constituent Assembly. It was a legal conundrum of the first magnitude, and a completely new element entered into the situation when we came to try and solve this particular conundrum, because the only solution I could see at the time was to continue to use the existing Constitution. That Constitution had been set up by the 1935 Government of India Act, and was rightly claimed as being one of the most remarkable pieces of legislation of our time. It was said that upwards of 15,000 questions were answered about it by the Secretary of State for India, Sir Samuel Hoare, before the Joint Select Committee, and not a single clause of the Act had had to be changed.

It was proposed that this would be amended in the way the future Dominion Governments would wish, and that they should be given the power to continue to amend the Act after the transfer of power. This was the only quick way of transfer, and they both readily accepted. I should like to add that I know of no other countries in the world to-day in the fortunate position of having a Constitution that is already a working Constitution, but which can be amended by a stroke of the pen day by day to be made to work more agreeably to themselves.

While all these discussions were going on between both parties in Delhi we must not forget that there was a third party in London. That third party was His Majesty's Government, who were in fact constitutionally responsible. It was therefore clear that before the Plan could be finalized I should have to fly home and see His Majesty's Government. I arrived on a Monday afternoon in May, and by tea-time I was hard at work with the India-Burma Committee of the Cabinet. I was able to give the new proposals for transfer to the Government, and I pointed out that they could be made to work only if the legislation went through that session, which had only two months to run. I was told that it would take seven or eight months before an important Act of that type could be drafted, passed through the committee stages of both Houses, and then become law; if there was opposition it would take longer. I therefore said that, unless all my work in India was to be lost, this had to be passed within two months or not at all. The Prime Minister was encouraging and told me that he would see what he could do. I came back the following day and found the Lord Chancellor and the Law Officers of the Crown in the Cabinet room. They had worked all night on the first rough draft of the Indian Independence Bill, and we went through it together at No. 10 Downing Street.

As you know, that legislation was passed within two months, which must have been an all-time legislative record. It would not have been possible with opposition. The Prime Minister had authorized me to see the leaders of the Opposition and to answer all their questions freely, and I was able to convince them that a speedy enactment was in the interests of the future of India and the good relations between India and this country, and that it was a national and not a party matter. As I have said, the measure passed through with the approval of both parties in Parliament before the end of the session, and so the Plan of June 3 became a legal possibility. It was accepted by all the leaders, and by August 15 we were able to transfer power.

Nevertheless, after June 3, and after having set up the Partition Council and the machinery to carry out this vast

process, I was left with a problem the magnitude of which I had not appreciated before I went out there. I had not realized that it was going to be such a serious problem. What were we going to do with the 565 Indian States, with upwards of 100,000,000 inhabitants? The only co-ordinating link in the overall administration of India was the fact that one and the same man always happened to hold the offices of Viceroy and Crown Representative. By the Cabinet Mission statement of May 12, 1946, the States were to become independent sovereign states, and up to the middle of June I had not got an inkling of what we were going to do about these 565 States to avoid the greatest possible catastrophe one could imagine—to avoid transferring power to so many different units in a way which might throw the whole sub-continent into a state of chaos.

The first thing it was necessary to do was to set up the machinery whereby the future Dominion Governments could enter into negotiations with the rulers of the various States. I therefore proposed that we should set up two State Departments (now known as State Ministries), one each for the impending Dominions of India and Pakistan. The main object was to negotiate agreements between the States and the future Dominions. In theory any State could remain independent or join either Dominion, but in practice there were, of course, geographical compulsions, and it was obviously necessary to consider the composition of the population. I made this very clear to a practically full house of the Chamber of Princes when I addressed them early in July, and all except three took my advice. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the future Deputy Prime Minister, took over the new Indian States Ministry. At the same time the new Secretaryship of this Ministry was taken over by my own Reforms Commissioner, and between the three of us and the Pakistan representatives we worked out a proposal whereby the States would be offered the opportunity of acceding to the Dominion of their choice.

The proposal was that their accession should be limited to the three subjects laid down in the original Cabinet Mission Plan, which were Defence, External Affairs, and Communica-

tions. In the case of Defence, practically no State wished to conduct its own defence, and indeed no State could really do so. Therefore there was no particular difficulty in getting over that point. That led us to the question of External Affairs. This was inextricably linked with the question of Defence. Although one or two of the largest States might have liked to have their own ambassadors, obviously that would have been a waste of money, and so they nearly all accepted the proposal on that point. On the question of Communications the matter was very vital since it affected the very life-blood of the sub-continent, and obviously they had to come to an understanding with the Central Governments. So an instrument of accession was drawn up. It was amended, discussed, and re-amended by a full meeting of the Chamber of Princes held during the last week of July in Delhi. It was finalized before the end of July, and practically all the States signed up before August 15. Out of the 565 States, the vast majority acceded to the Dominion of India. The remainder, with the exception of three of them, acceded to the Dominion of Pakistan.

With regard to the three exceptions, the first was the State of Junagadh. The strong advice I had given to the effect that the States should join up in accordance with geographical compulsions and the wishes of the majorities of their populations was not taken. Junagadh, with its 82 per cent Hindu population and 18 per cent Muslim population, joined up with Pakistan. As you know, a plebiscite has been held since that time and as a result of an overwhelming majority it has joined up with India, and India has offered to allow U.N.O. to conduct a further plebiscite, if desired, to show whether the result of the first one was correct.

The second State that did not take my advice was the State of Kashmir. In the case of Kashmir I went up personally and saw the Maharaja. I spent four days with him in July, and on every one of those four days I persisted with the same advice: "Ascertain the will of your people by any means and join whichever Dominion your people wish you to join by August 14 this year." He did not do that, and what happened can be seen. Had he acceded to Pakistan before August 14 the future

Government of India had allowed me to give His Highness an assurance that no objection whatever would be raised by them. Had His Highness acceded to India by August 14, Pakistan did not then exist, and therefore could not have interfered. The only trouble that could have been raised was by non-accession to either side, and this was unfortunately the very course followed by the Maharaja.

The third State I have referred to was Hyderabad, by far the biggest State in India as far as population is concerned. It is not quite so large as Kashmir, which has an area of just over 84,000 square miles, but the population is 17,000,000. It consists of 14 per cent Muslim and 86 per cent Hindu. We had long discussions in trying to bring about a solution for this great State, and these discussions continued until about ten days ago. Sir Walter Monckton, Constitutional Adviser to the Nizam, came to all these discussions and was absolutely first class, because, while being completely loyal to the ruler of Hyderabad, he proved himself to be a high-minded humanitarian. His one object was the same as mine—namely, to find a solution which would avoid friction and possible consequent bloodshed.

The Government of India proved itself to be very high-minded, in my opinion, and was anxious to find a solution. It was heart-breaking to Sir Walter Monckton and myself, quite apart from the people now left with the responsibility in India, that the final proposals were not accepted by Hyderabad. I am very sorry that has happened, and can only hope and pray that a peaceable solution will be found there after all.

That is all I have to say about the period during which I was Viceroy, and I have gone a little beyond it. As for the constitutional period, as I said at the beginning, I was the servant of the Government of India, and it is not my business to discuss the way they have conducted their affairs beyond saying this: The Government of India came into power at a very difficult time, at a time when massacres had started in the Punjab, which spread to Delhi, and the situation was practically out of hand. Any government would have had the greatest difficulty in maintaining control under the conditions facing them. This Government rose magnificently to the occasion.

An Emergency Committee of the Cabinet was formed, and they dealt with matters in an admirable and speedy way at their daily meetings.

My wife took on the work of the co-ordination of all welfare bodies and voluntary relief organizations in India, and did, if I may say so, a most amazing job. All the way through she has been of the utmost value, because she was able to succeed in tapping a very great source of strength in India which hitherto had been hardly touched. I refer to the women of India. My wife was able to make friends of the wives and daughters and friends of the leaders. She was able to do a great deal when the trouble started with the refugees. I have spoken about the goodwill in India, and that goodwill is really wonderful. There has been a warmth of heart, and they have been ready to pay tribute and express gratitude for anything she has done. In the refugee camps during the last week, people who had lost everything scraped together their annas so that one of them could travel by train to bring up their pathetic little gifts which they had made themselves—anything, just as a tribute to show they were grateful.

I must mention the Indian Civil Service, which is now nearly 100 per cent Indian. There are a few Britishers left, but not many. They have been absolutely magnificent, and the professional administrators have carried on loyally and efficiently. There have been far too few of them, because, do not forget, a democracy always requires more Civil Service administrators. They have been greatly overworked, but they have done an absolutely first-class job, which has not yet been fully recognized by the country as a whole.

Finally, I would like to mention Gandhiji. It is impossible to convey what his death has meant to India, but I will say that it did one thing. The shock pulled the country together in a most wonderful way. That effect still exists to a large extent, but, make no mistake, his absence is acutely felt. He was the father of the nation in every sense of the word. Everybody from the Prime Minister downwards went to him for advice, and he held together all the threads of that great country. His passing away caused a particularly heavy burden to be placed on the

Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, a man admirably fitted to deal with that burden. I have no doubt that he is one of the great men, not of this time only, but of any time. Apart from that, he is one of the most delightful and entertaining people one could ever wish to have as a friend. I have great faith in him, knowing that he is a really wise and balanced statesman who is very well fitted for the responsibilities he has to bear.

I am certain that India is going from strength to strength. She is bound to face the most appalling difficulties, which are absolutely inevitable with the sudden accession of self-government and partition at a time when there are such immense difficulties in every part of the world. Nevertheless, I maintain that she is going from strength to strength. The good feeling that India has for this country has never been higher, and nothing short of criminal lunacy in this country would wish to destroy that good feeling. It is there, whatever the future holds, I hope for good.

APPENDIX " A "

THE GANDHI-JINNAH APPEAL

WE deeply deplore the recent acts of lawlessness and violence that have brought the utmost disgrace on the fair name of India and the greatest misery to innocent people, irrespective of who were the aggressors and who were the victims.

We denounce for all time the use of force to achieve political ends, and we call upon all the communities of India, to whatever persuasion they may belong, not only to refrain from all acts of violence and disorder; but also to avoid both in speech and writing any incitement to such acts.

M. A. JINNAH—15-4-47.

M. K. GANDHI.

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